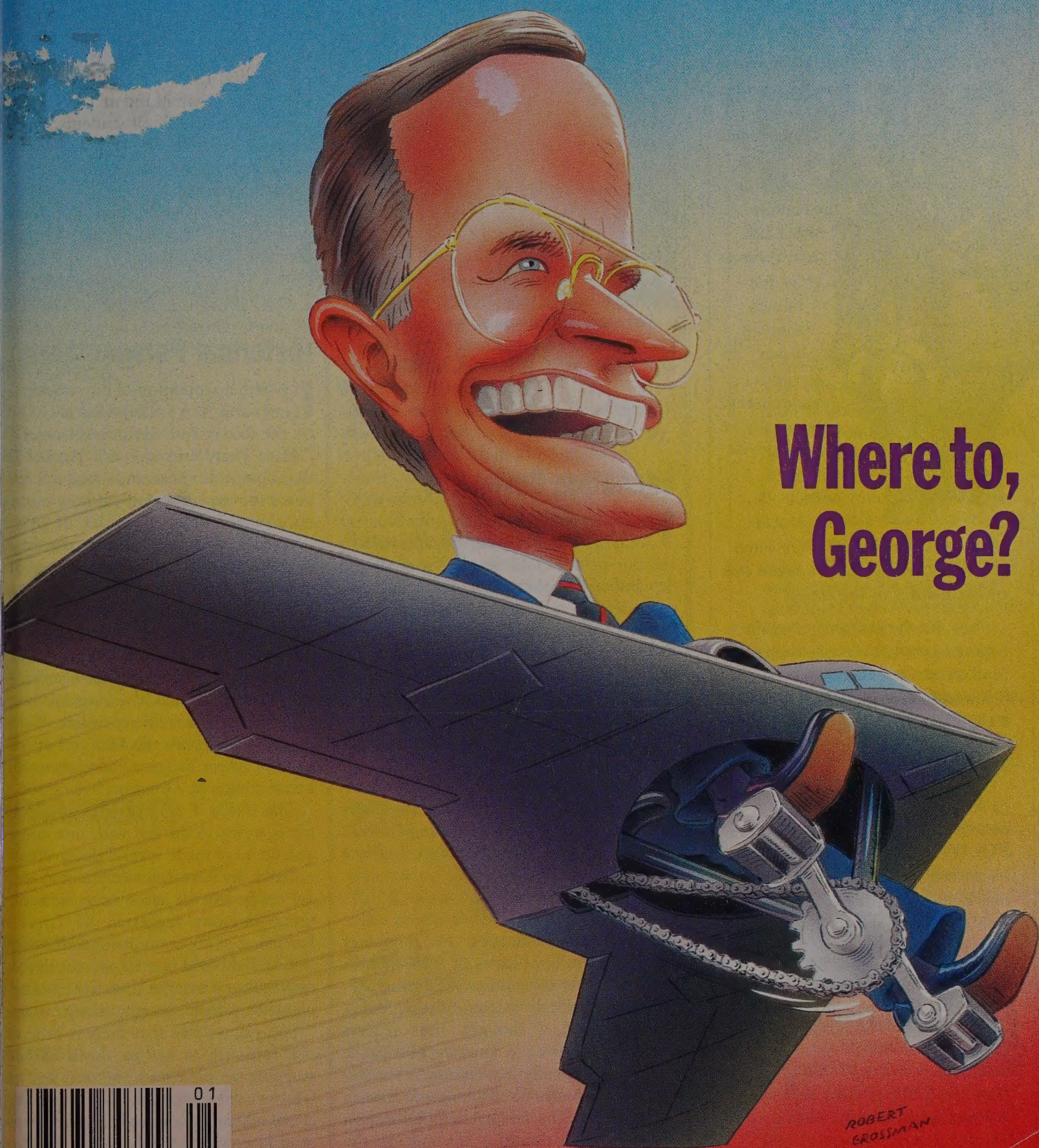
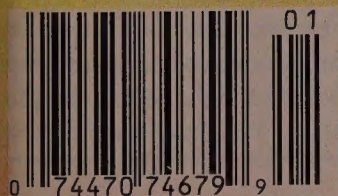


NuclearTimes

KING REMEMBERED / BOMB PLANT SCANDAL / PAGANS FOR PEACE



**Where to,
George?**



"STOP THEM DAMN PICTURES"

That's what "Boss" Tweed demanded when he saw the handwriting on the Hall (Tammany, that is).

But the pictures didn't stop. "Boss" Tweed

met his maker in the Ludlow Street Jail and Thomas Nast put bitingly eloquent political cartoons squarely and permanently in the middle of American political life. Tweed aside,

we think Emerson had it right when he said, "*Caricatures are often the truest history of the times.*"

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LETTERS

Snake River's Friends

Thanks for the fine coverage of the Snake River Alliance and the effort to halt the Special Isotope Separation (SIS) plutonium plant [cover story, July/August 1988].

The campaign to stop SIS is not a one-person or a one-organization show. The work of Dr. Tom Cochran, Dan Reicher, Jason Salzman and Jacob Scherr, all of the Natural Resources Defense Council, has been essential. NRDC's hard-working staff provides technical information, credibility, visibility and Capitol Hill know-how to the campaign.

Greenpeace, the Federation of American Scientists and Environmental Action are also key players. Regionally, the Palouse-Clearwater Hanford Watch and the Hanford Education Action League are working to stop SIS.

For more information about SIS and the campaign, contact the Snake River Alliance at P.O. Box 4090, Ketchum, ID 83340.

Liz Paul
Snake River Alliance
Ketchum, Idaho

Education Cover Boy

The members of the Indianapolis Nuclear Weapons Freeze were very pleased to see our poster child on the front of the September/October issue. Jeff Laramore, of Young & Laramore, an Indianapolis advertising agency, designed the poster as well as fundraising materials and a riveting 30-second video spot on this nuclear jack-in-the-box theme. The video spot is available for purchase by other peace groups. Direct inquiries to: The Indianapolis Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 3808 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, IN 46208.

Kathleen K. Shortridge, Chair
INWF Coordinating Council
Indianapolis, Indiana

Peace Education

How very encouraging to encounter "Peace Studies Comes of Age" in your September/October issue. While the article focused entirely on the undergraduate/graduate level, I thought your readers might be interested in knowing that peace studies is currently undergoing a similar boom in high school curricula—at least in Connecticut. The Connecticut Education Association distributes a fine unit on the nuclear issue and the New Haven chapter

of Educators for Social Responsibility extremely active in area districts.

This heightened interest in nuclear issues is evident at Trumbull High School Trumbull, Connecticut, where I teach English. My extra-curricular social issues club has grown from nine to 30 students, and the course I teach here in a General Electric stronghold, entitled "The Literature of Peace and Protest," has expanded from one section to four or five per year since the course began in the mid-1970s.

I credit high school students, who, because of their parents, music (groups such as U2 are an influence), sensitivity and concern, are increasingly more anxious to learn about global issues. Kudos to American young people, especially those who attend Trumbull High School.

Mary Curran
Trumbull, Connecticut

Historical Perspectives

It is with no intention of disparaging Col. Greer and Ann Bastian's excellent article on the British anti-war movement of 1861 ["Ideas That Worked," July/August 1988] that I point out how important it is for the peace movement to look at how our modern situation differs from that of 1861.

A major difference between the situation in Britain in 1861 and in the United States in 1988 is that the momentum for the arms race is now perpetuated not only by government but by the military-industrial complex as well. It seems self-evident that to change a policy one must reach policymakers. Clearly, the military-industrial complex helps create U.S. military policy. We must come to grips with this fact and develop a massive effort to raise consciences in the board rooms of American businesses.

The INFACCT boycott of General Electric is trying to do this with one company and we have made several discoveries.

First, we have found that most people are ready for the alternative view of national interests suggested by Greer and Bastian. A study commissioned last year by INFACCT showed that 80 percent of Americans believed that the United States had too many, or at least enough, nuclear weapons.

Second, we find that there is little negative response as we go down the street stopping people to ask them to sign on to GE boycotters. Far less than I have experienced when I have asked people to support an end to contra aid. Many people are

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Martin Luther King, Jr. at the Riverside Church: Redefining the Vietnam syndrome.

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FEATURES

Where To, George?

By Donna Eberwine

What will the Bush presidency mean for national security? Will there be any room for peace movement input? An overview of where Bush stands, plus a closer look at the future of Star Wars, a test ban, and election reform.

Beyond Vietnam

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

In observance of what would have been King's 60th birthday, we feature an excerpt from a 1967 speech in which he not only criticizes the war in Vietnam, but links the struggle for justice at home with the struggle for peace.

DEPARTMENTS

Letters

Readers talk about anti-bomb factory coalitions and peace education.

Dispatches

Billion-dollar mess at U.S. bomb factories; a visit to a bizarre weapons bazaar; the "nuclear allergy" is spreading.

Grassroots

By Hugh Gusterson

Knock Knock: Door-to-door canvassers are the foot soldiers in the fight for disarmament. In the streets with SANE/FREEZE in Northern California.

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By Mark Niedergang-

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Deadline

Edited by Lee Feinstein

Insert: Gregg Herkin on *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age*; the tritium story.

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LETTERS/Continued from page 2

more ready than the peace movement to come to grips with the irresponsibility of the nuclear weapons industry. However, most people feel helpless in the face of corporate power.

Third, the alliance between social movements discussed in Greer and Bastian's article is being born, although the birth is a difficult one. Many of the old progressive groups, such as labor unions, have become part of the conservative resistance to new thinking. As I read "Passing Up Jesse" [July/August 1988], I wonder if some peace groups have also become part of this conservative resistance.

Irving Hollingshead
INFAC Coordinator

Boyertown, Pennsylvania

Freeze Voter Defended

I would like to object to Robert Schaeffer's review ["Devil's Advocates," May/June 1988] of the *Strengthening American Security* booklet produced by Freeze Voter for presenting arms control issues to conservatives.

The central tenet of the booklet is that unrestricted improvements in technology can only improve Soviet abilities to carry out a first strike. Depressed trajectory missiles will threaten bombers, a breakthrough in anti-submarine warfare will threaten submarines, and increases in missile accuracy will threaten ICBMs, leaving all legs of the triad threatened. The only thing that will stop first-strike capability by the Soviets (as well as the United States) is to halt warhead and ballistic missile testing as well as space weapons.

These are not ingenuous or disingenuous arguments, but facts. These are the only points that, in my experience, actually work with conservatives who are open to countervailing ideas.

Charles Minton, President
Humboldt County SANE/FREEZE
Arcata, California

GWEN Clarification

Your May/June dispatch on the Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) misstates the views of community activists opposed to the network. What we say is that, as a deterrent, GWEN is not necessary; retaliation is already assured without it. We are concerned that GWEN is designed to do much more than just survive an electromagnetic pulse and then transmit orders for a retaliatory strike. As congressional testimony makes clear, by virtue of

the sheer number of relay towers, GWEN is intended to "endure" multiple nuclear strikes and thus enable the military to maintain "escalation control" during a protracted nuclear war. It is this delusion about nuclear warfighting that lies at the heart of the protest against GWEN.

Nancy Foster, Director
The GWEN Project
Amherst, Massachusetts

Nuclear Doves?

I was pleased to see that *Nuclear Times* finally published an article on Mordechai Vanunu (Dispatches, July/August 1988) but I was disturbed by a misrepresentation of my comments regarding New Jewish Agenda (NJA).

When I originally spoke with Laurie Udesky about what some call a "nuclear dove" position, I was describing an Israeli phenomenon. I never said that NJA members believe that Israel's nuclear [weapon] program should be viewed as special or handled differently from any other, nor did I identify NJA members as nuclear doves. While some members of NJA may not support Vanunu's actions (as others in the organization do), I would be hard-pressed to find members who would argue in favor of continuing a nuclear program in Israel elsewhere.

Certainly there are members of the greater American Jewish community who support the Israeli nuclear dove position, but NJA's official views on disarmament and the nuclear arms race oppose such a position. Since its adoption in 1982, NJA national platform has called for "a halt to the export of nuclear power technology by the United States and other Western nations in order to stem the proliferation of nuclear weapons"; the renunciation of the "concept of limited nuclear war" by all nations, "which serves to justify the development of first-strike weapons"; "universal nuclear disarmament as a step toward establishing world peace"; as well as the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East.

Deena Hurwitz, Co-chair
NJA National Middle East Task Force
New York, New York

Laurie Udesky replies: New Jewish Agenda was indeed misrepresented in my article on Vanunu because of an editing error. Although Deena Hurwitz acknowledged that many American Jews, perhaps even members of New Jewish Agenda, held a hands-off view toward Israel's nuclear policy, she did not say that many NJA members supported nuclear weapons in Israel.

DISPATCHES

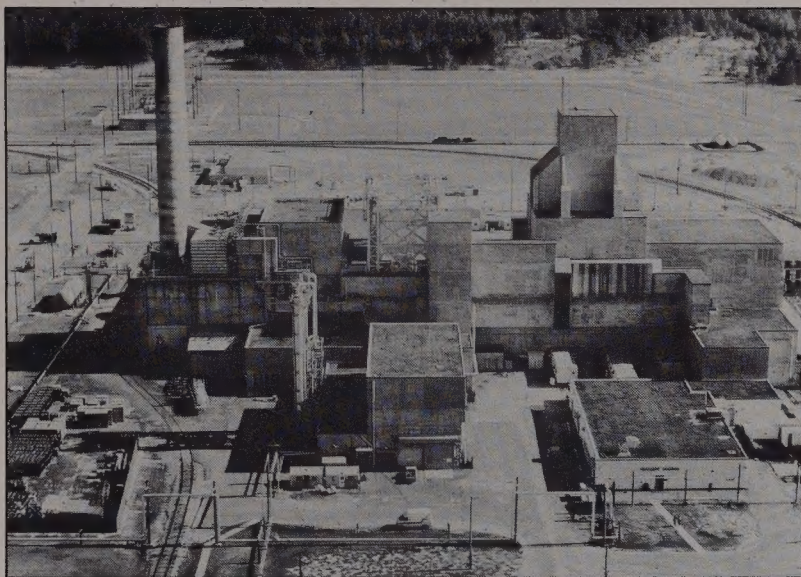
BOMB FACTORIES BOMB

PEACE ACTIVISTS AND ENVIRONMENTALISTS have been warning about dangerous conditions at the Department of Energy's aging nuclear weapons plants for years. Last fall, in the face of three major plant shutdowns and a congressional investigation, the DOE finally acknowledged that lax government management has led to recurrent worker safety violations and potentially cancer-causing environmental contamination. A series of events occurring within weeks of each other halted production at three of the 17 plants that make up the nation's nuclear weapon manufacturing system.

In August, the DOE prohibited the restarting of five reactors at the Aiken, South Carolina Savannah River plant, the only plant in the country that produces plutonium and tritium, a radioactive gas that intensifies nuclear explosions. Two reactors were closed permanently. All of the reactors had been shut down more than seven months before because of safety violations.

Investigators subsequently obtained a 1985 DOE report revealing a 30-year history of accidents, some of them previously unreported. One serious mishap resulted in extensive radioactive contamination, another melted reactor fuel rods.

On October 8, the DOE issued an emergency order closing plutonium processing facilities at the Rocky Flats plant near Boulder, Colorado. The building in which workers



Savannah River: Contamination in the name of U.S. national security.

shape plutonium into bomb components was shut down after a DOE inspector and three employees were contaminated. The plant—the only one that produces warhead triggers and recovers and reprocesses plutonium from old weapons—has had dozens of fires that have sometimes spread plutonium-filled smoke over Denver.

■ A few days later, workers at the Fernald, Ohio, uranium reprocessing plant went on strike for higher wages and safer conditions. Nearby residents have filed a \$300 million suit against the DOE contractor that manages the plant after it was disclosed that plant operators released hundreds of tons of radioactive dust for many years. The DOE learned of the problem in 1958, but did not correct it or warn residents. The case has prompted a major investigation of high incidences of cancer in the area.

DOE estimates it will cost at least \$110 billion and take 57 years to clean up radioactive and toxic wastes at its bomb factories and bring them into compliance with environmental and safety regulations.

The agency currently plans to restart three of the Savannah River reactors, but the South Carolina-based Energy Research Foundation, the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) and Greenpeace plan to sue to keep them closed unless DOE prepares an environmental impact statement.

Robert Barker, a top Pentagon official, warned in October that the United States faces "unilateral nuclear disarmament" if the Savannah River reactors are not restarted by late spring. The Pentagon maintains it needs an uninterrupted flow of tritium to sustain the U.S. arsenal. Tritium decays rapidly—about 5.5 percent per year—so it must be replaced periodically in weapons.

NRDC released a report in late October challenging the Pentagon's assertion that national security is in jeopardy. "Our nuclear deterrent is not going to dribble away in the next couple of years without this supply of tritium," said Thomas Cochran of NRDC. He said DOE has enough for at least two years.

Some critics charge DOE is

orchestrating these recent revelations to build a case for new weapons reactors. The agency is scheduled to deliver its proposal for the next generation of bomb factories to Congress early this year. The plans include at least one new plutonium reactor in South Carolina and two tritium reactors.

David Albright, senior staff scientist with the Federation of American Scientists and a leading nuclear weapons analyst, says Barker's dire warnings are causing a stampede of support on Capitol Hill for new plants. "What's being lost in the rush," he says, "are the questions of how much plutonium and tritium DOE really needs, and what the alternative might be for producing that amount."

Albright believes that existing research reactors might be used and weapons material from retired warhead recycled to meet DOE's needs.

Given the setbacks at Savannah River, Idaho Sen. James McClure and Washington Sen. Slade Gorton, both Republicans, are pushing for new weapons production plants in their states. Anti-nuclear activists and environmentalists in both states oppose such a move, and point to Savannah River, as well as Rocky Flats, Fernald and the closed DOE facility at Hanford, Washington, as ample reasons to keep the plants out.

Tim Connor of the Hanford Education Action League, a group that monitored dangerous practices at Hanford, said of the recent spate of revelations, "This proves what we've been saying all along. The Department of Energy has been running a very dirty operation, not only at Hanford, but all across the country."

—Elliott Negin

BLIPS...

NFZ VICTORIES Voters in Oak Park, Illinois; Wasco County, Oregon; and Humboldt County and Oakland, California, created four new nuclear-free zones last November. This brings the total of U.S. NFZs to 160, representing more than 16 million people. The two California ordinances ban not only nuclear weapons, but also public investments in, purchases from, or contracts with companies involved in weapons production. The Oakland and Wasco County zones also ban nuclear power plants and nuclear waste.

Unfortunately, NFZ initiatives in Sonoma County, Pinole, and Ukiah, California, and in Ferry County, Washington, were defeated. For more info, contact **Nuclear Free America**, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218, (301) 235-3575.

NFZ proponents from around the world will converge on Eugene, Oregon, on February 8-11 for the **Fourth International Conference of Nuclear-Free Zone Local Authorities**. Call (503) 683-1802 for more info.

HOME PORT REFERENDA On October 5, 53 percent of the voters in Juneau, Alaska, said no to the Navy's plans to dock nuclear-capable ships there. A month later, San Franciscans, by a 51 to 49 percent margin, voted to allow the USS Missouri to dock in their bay. Another proposition, which would have required the Navy to cover all home port costs, was defeated, so San Francisco will have to put up \$2 million for dredging. Congress has not appropriated money to base the Missouri, however, and home port opponents are hoping the federal budget crunch will keep the bay nuclear-free.

COLLEGE HEADS ENDORSE PEACE STUDIES In mid-September, 45 university presidents from around the world adopted a resolution to develop common curriculums on disarmament and development, injustice and hunger, and international conflict resolution, and called on other universities to join them. The meeting, which was attended by educators from the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, Western Europe, the Pacific Rim and the Middle East, took place at the Tufts University European Center in Talloires, France. The participants plan to meet again later this year in Tokyo. For more info, call the Tufts Office of Communications at (617) 381-3500.

NUKE INFLATION Are we worse off than we were eight years ago when it comes to the arms race? Unquestionably yes.

The Soviet Union now has 40 percent more first-strike nuclear weapons aimed at the United States than it did when Ronald Reagan first took office. In 1981, the United States had about 10,900 strategic nukes pointed at Soviet Union, while the Soviets had 7,500 strategic weapons trained on us. The United States now has 13,200 of these weapons and the Soviets have 10,800. In other words, during the Reagan years the two superpowers added so many new weapons to their arsenals that a 50 percent cut would leave both about where they were in 1981. Furthermore, because of new technology, the missiles remaining in the superpowers' stockpiles after a 50 percent cut would be more deadly than all of those in the 1981 arsenals.

A verifiable, bilateral nuclear freeze would have prevented this buildup from happening. □

ARMS BIZARRE

THE DAZZLE AND FLASH OF the largest annual weapons exhibition in the nation attracted business executives, military personnel and peace activists to the Air Force Association (AFA) National Convention at the Washington Sheraton late last September. Missile, computer, and other military hardware displays clogged the hotel's conference rooms, while outside, protesters demonstrated and passed out leaflets to passersby.

The convention's theme was "A Creed to Believe—Freedom." AFA literature emblazoned with patriotic flags and saluting children stressed that "freedom costs" and that the U.S. "Defense Industrial Base" needs to be strengthened to ensure our national security.

At a press conference for the AFA report, "Lifeline in Danger: An Assessment of the United States Defense Industrial Base," John T. Correll, executive editor of *Air Force Magazine* and the report's co-author, sounded the alarm. He warned that the U.S. defense industry "cannot expand its production to meet wartime mobilization in less than 18 months" and therefore must be bolstered with a range of reforms, including increased federal aid, decreased reliance on foreign sources for materials, and a more cooperative relationship with the government. Then, with a straight face he went on to say, "There is no such thing as a military-industrial complex," and that the industry is undermined by unwarranted public suspicion.

Another speaker, retired Air Force Gen. Robert T. Marsh, treaded lightly on the question of the recent defense procurement scandals. He said that "malperformances" are unavoidable to some degree in any industry, and that ethical

standards in the defense industry are very high.

The arms bazaar attracted the attention of several disarmament organizations. The Olive Branch of Catholic Worker (a religious-based pacifist community), along with the War Resisters' League, Pax Christi and other protesters, organized demonstrations during the four-day convention. Leaflets handed out 2,500 pamphlets a day outside the hotel while other activists held banners protesting the weapons exhibition or engaged in acts of civil disobedience.

The CD actions ranged from activists blocking exhibit and garage entrances, to a Catholic "sackcloth and ashes" ritual, which protesters dressed in burlap and dumped ashes, interrupting an AFA luncheon. Marcia Timmel of Catholic Worker was arrested after she approached an exhibit, destroyed an MX missile model with a hammer, and splattered the exhibit with her blood. Later, Richard Ochs was arrested in the conference hall after he soaked a large, wall-mounted AFA emblem with his blood. Of the 21 demonstrators committing CD, 1 were arrested. Timmel and Ochs were cited for misdemeanor, while the others were either not charged or had the charges dropped.

Protesters vow to return to future arms bazaars, but the one in particular angered Catholic Worker community members, who said the Air Force Association's theme insulted the pacifistic tenets of the Apostle's creed. "The theme 'A Creed to Believe—Freedom,'" said Paul Magno of Catholic Worker, "was like waving a red flag in front of our eyes."

— Archer Manes

For more information, contact the Olive Branch of Catholic Worker at (202) 332-6247, the War Resisters' League at (703) 892-1068, or Pax Christi at (814) 453-4955.

NUCLEAR ALLERGY SPREADS

CONSIDER THIS: A LONGTIME U.S. ally, trying to extricate itself from the nuclear arms race, declares its country "nuclear free" and bans naval vessels bearing nuclear weapons from its harbors. In response, the United States threatens to end the alliance, insisting that its arsenal of nuclear weapons on ships and submarines—now numbering some 9,277 warheads—must have free access to the country's ports. If you wish to be our friends, goes the message, you must take our Navy's nuclear weapons.

The scenario is increasingly common. Eight of America's closest allies now face internal turmoil and strained relations with the United States because the U.S. Navy insists on its "right" to bring nuclear weapons to all ports of call, even when violating the nuclear-free policies of host countries.

This wave of controversy began in January 1985, when New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange decided not to allow the USS Buchanan, a destroyer designed to carry nuclear anti-submarine rockets, to visit New Zealand unless he received assurances that it was not carrying nuclear weapons. Many countries have nuclear-free laws or policies. New Zealand, however, wanted its law enforced. In response, the United States canceled the Buchanan's trip and turned down Lange's invitation to host a visit from one of the U.S. Navy's non-nuclear ships.

Several months later, when it became clear that New Zealand would continue enforcing its nuclear-free policy, the United States suspended military relations with New Zealand under the ANZUS (Australia-New Zealand-United States) mutual security treaty,

severing most defense and intelligence ties.

The Navy expected its response to New Zealand to deter U.S. allies that question the wisdom of allowing nuclear weapons to enter their harbors. By making an example of New Zealand, the Pentagon hoped to forestall a "nuclear allergy" among countries tempted to re-

of Denmark fell when the Parliament moved to enforce a 30-year-old policy barring nuclear weapons from its land and waters in peacetime. Following an inconclusive election, a "compromise" was found allowing port calls to resume, but the issue remains volatile.

■ In May, the Philippine Senate passed legislation to ban nu-



Greenpeace activists protesting the arrival of the U.S. aircraft carrier Dwight D. Eisenhower in the port of Palma, Mallorca, in June 1988.

ject visits by nuclear-equipped U.S. ships.

Clearly, the policy has failed. ■ In 1985, Iceland, a strategically placed NATO ally, told the United States it would enforce its longstanding nuclear-free policies and no longer allow nuclear weapons in its harbors. The U.S. Navy has not challenged this position.

■ In 1986, Spanish voters agreed to join NATO under the condition that no nuclear weapons be "introduced to Spanish territory." Although ships with nuclear weapons still dock in Spanish ports, their visits have become less frequent amid ongoing debate over whether the anti-nuclear law applies to Spanish harbors.

■ Last summer, the Navy's plan to make Yokosuka a home port for two U.S. warships equipped with nuclear-armed Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles has embarrassed the Japanese government and triggered protests.

■ Last April, the government

clear weapons from its territory, which includes the U.S. Navy base at Subic Bay and Clark Air Force base. The legislature will pressure the Philippine government to include a nuclear-free provision in any revised version of its U.S. bases treaty, which comes up for renewal in 1991.

U.S. ships are not the only targets of anti-nuclear protest. Last October, the HMS Ark Royal, a carrier armed with nuclear weapons, was one of several British and U.S. nuclear-capable ships that sparked protests during the Australian government's bicentennial festivities. Twenty-one members of Greenpeace boarded the Ark Royal in Sydney Harbor and displayed a banner reading "Nuclear Weapons on Board," while a dockworker union's ban (and bad weather) prevented the Ark Royal and another British warship from docking in Melbourne.

The Ark Royal crew has had problems navigating in the

Mediterranean as well. Four months before sailing to Australia, the ship was forced to cruise past Valetta, Malta's capital, because protesting dockworkers had towed an empty 80,000-ton tanker across the mouth of Grand Harbor.

Protesters have also clashed with the Soviet Navy. On the eve of the Danish elections in May, Greenpeace activists tagged a Soviet frigate with a flag bearing a radiation symbol as it passed through the Straits of Denmark to the North Sea. A month later, Greenpeace painted radiation symbols on the Baku, the newest Soviet aircraft carrier, while it was anchored off the Tunisian coast.

These demonstrations highlight the role that navies play in the nuclear arms race. More than 16,000 nuclear weapons—almost one-third of the world's total—are brandished by the U.S., Soviet, French, British and Chinese navies. While U.S. forces store land-based nuclear weapons in seven NATO countries and South Korea, U.S. sea-based nuclear weapons visit about 100 countries per year.

The spreading "nuclear allergy" has begun to attract attention in Washington, where Paul Nitze, the State Department's chief arms control adviser and a former Navy secretary, proposed last spring to remove all nuclear weapons from U.S. surface ships if the Soviets agree to do likewise. Such an "INF at sea" agreement would not only reduce tensions with allies, argues Nitze, it would also serve U.S. strategic interests.

Secretary of State George Shultz considers Nitze's suggestion a viable arms control option, according to press reports. But it is too early to tell whether the idea can retain its sea legs in the Bush administration.

—Michael Ross

For more information, contact Greenpeace, 1436 U St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 462-1177.

Where to, George?

President-elect Bush has a historic opportunity to end the Cold War and advance world peace. But if his record is any indication, the times may be greater than the man.

BY DONNA EBERWINE

For Claire Greensfelder, November 8 was in some ways just one more election-season setback. During 16 months of working for the Democrats—as a Jackson delegate, on the platform committee and later for the Democratic National Committee—she had seen Jackson shunted aside and peace issues put on the back burner. But Dukakis' defeat was a special disappointment. "I was used to working hard and not being the victor," she says "But with Dukakis it was different. I felt very badly because we should have won."

Greensfelder was not the only peace activist who was disappointed with the outcome of the elections. Despite Dukakis' late-in-the-campaign endorsements of the D-5 missile and Stealth bomber and talk of beefing up conventional forces, he was viewed by the peace movement as a potential friend in the White House. As Massachusetts governor, he had endorsed the nuclear freeze and refused to send his National Guard to play war games in Central America. His critics' charge that he was "viscerally anti-military" was for some just more cause for hope.

Yet ironically it was Bush, not Dukakis, who as a candidate most frequently invoked the theme of "peace." Bush held up the INF Treaty as a model for future U.S.-Soviet relations, promised to convene a

U.S.-Soviet summit soon after taking office, and insisted that one of his highest priorities as president would be to negotiate a ban on chemical and biological weapons. Yes, Bush waged a dirty campaign that evaded the issues. But is George Bush as president necessarily all bad news?

Though the new president has been saddled with an unenviable \$150 billion-plus budget deficit bequeathed by his predecessor, he has also inherited an international climate that offers the potential for historic statesmanship. Those who have declared an end to the Cold War or the demise of America as a world power may be jumping the gun. But there is no doubt that changes in the international arena are dramatically reshaping the world and the role the United States plays in it.

Many of these trends augur well for world peace: there is hope for a more lasting East-West detente and a winding down of the arms race, diplomacy is gaining ground over the use of force in settling international disputes, and there is growing recognition—among both the public and elite policymakers—that military might is not the only component of national security. These developments present the new president with the chance to make a name for himself in the history books, and to make the United States a force for positive change in the world.

"It's terribly important that we have a president who recognizes opportunities





Campaigning for CTB

When Bill Monning, executive director of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, asked the Bush campaign last August for its position on the comprehensive test ban, he was surprised only at the promptness of their response. The substance of the reply, signed by the candidate himself, was predictable: Bush opposed the CTB.

"It is possible to argue," read the letter, "that a CTB would make reductions in nuclear weapons even more difficult. Without testing there could be a growing loss of confidence in the reliability of existing nuclear weapons, leading to pressure to add additional weapons to the stockpiles."

Doublespeak is just one of the obstacles that Monning and other supporters of the CTB are facing in their uphill struggle under the new Bush administration. Reagan's donning of the anti-nuclear mantle and the subsequent drop in public concern about the nuclear threat is another. But these are problems peace activists have been confronting for the last few years, and not discouraging enough to stop a growing number from supporting the CTB campaign.

"I believe it's possible we can get a CTB with a Bush administration," says Carolyn Cottom, U.S. chair for the International Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign, adding that the necessity for major cuts in the military budget increases that possibility.

Nearly four dozen peace groups have joined forces since last May under Cottom's leadership to press for the elimination of all underground testing of nuclear weapons [see "Test Ban Battle," Sept./Oct. 1988]. Since election day, the coalition has been carrying out

a \$60,000 campaign to promote CTB during the "transition" period. The campaign's climax will be on Inauguration Day, when signature ads will appear in newspapers around the country calling on president-elect Bush to declare an immediate moratorium on nuclear testing and to begin negotiations with the Soviet Union for a formal, bilateral ban.

Local activists are joining the effort by organizing visits with their congressional representatives and writing op-ed articles for local newspapers. In Washington, the coalition is circulating a "Dear Colleague" letter through Congress that restates the ads' demands.

From Inauguration Day until April 15, the campaign's focus will shift to exposing the costs of the arms race to U.S. citizens. American Peace Test is planning actions at the Nevada Test Site from April 7 to 16; other groups are organizing demonstrations at local post offices to educate taxpayers filing their returns about how the military uses their money.

After April, the coalition will concentrate on supporting an upcoming United Nations amendment conference, at which the 116 signatories of the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty will debate whether to convert the treaty into a comprehensive ban. The participants are expected overwhelmingly to support the conversion, putting the new Bush administration in a somewhat uncomfortable international spot. —D.E.

For more information, contact: U.S. Coalition/International Comprehensive Test Ban, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW #302, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 745-2450.



Carolyn Cottom: new coalition.

when he sees them, who can see what our interests are, and who can move forcefully to advance those interests," says Jan Wales, director of Security Options.

The bad news is that George Herbert Walker Bush has never in his political career won a reputation for being "forceful"—his campaign handlers, in fact, seem to have made reversing his "wimp" image their top priority. Nor is it clear, as it was with his predecessor, where Bush actually stands on many of the most critical issues facing him. And having been elected by only 26 percent of voting-age Americans, he has anything but a popular mandate.

The good news is that Bush's very malleability and lack of definition could mean an opening for peace-movement input. "Compared to when Reagan came into office, this is positive," says John Isaacs, legislative director of Council for a Livable World. With Reagan, "you knew where he stood and it was wrong.... It's easier to deal with an empty page."

None of the challenges to U.S. foreign policy is more important than the Soviet Union, where President Mikhail Gorbachev is pursuing sweeping political and economic reforms, and reaching out to Europe and the United States for closer relations. For the most part, U.S. allies in Western Europe are responding positively to Gorbachev's overtures about a "common European home," an idea that jibes with their own emerging sense of economic and political unity and soothes their fears of military confrontation. But as with other issues, how a Bush administration will deal with these changes is not clear.

As a candidate, Bush did not hesitate to capitalize on his acquaintance with the popular Gorbachev, for example, using photos of the two of them together in his campaign ads. On the other hand, he took pains to establish himself as "tough" toward the Soviets—no "wimp" when it comes to facing up to the big Bear. In one campaign speech, he declared that "the jury is still out" on the question of how serious the Soviets are about reform. In another, "The Cold War is not yet over," and America must be prepared for "protracted conflict." To the extent he acknowledges that the Soviets may be up to some good, Bush assigns partial credit for it to the Reagan administration. "The promise of *glasnost*, of *perestroika*, didn't take place in a vacuum," he said in June, "but in the context of reinvigorated American strength."

Some of this may be dismissed as campaign rhetoric—an attempt to draw the lines starkly between Bush and his "soft-on-the-Soviets" Democratic rival. But sentiments like these would be expected from

he 64-year-old Bush, who after all came of age politically at the height of the Cold War. Furthermore, unlike Reagan, who held four summits with Gorbachev and whose completion of the INF Treaty was perhaps the crowning achievement of his term, Bush as yet has no real personal stake in Gorbachev's success.

More worrisome, some Bush advisers are on record espousing the hard-line view that what's good for the Soviet Union is probably bad for America.

"Richard Perle says that a Soviet Union strengthened economically could be a more dangerous Soviet Union, and that we should not assist or encourage Gorbachev," says Jane Wales, noting that he former assistant secretary of defense was one of Dan Quayle's top foreign policy advisers during the campaign. Other Bush-Quayle advisers, including Henry Kissinger and Jeane Kirkpatrick, have expressed similar reservations about the Gorbachev program. If they succeed in getting Bush's ear, his administration might oppose efforts by U.S. allies and multilateral institutions to help Gorbachev with loans and favorable trade policies. More important, it could lead to a hard-line approach to the Soviets on the crucial issue of arms control.

OFF TO NO START?

Despite Reagan's early inflammatory rhetoric about the "Evil Empire," he did, through the INF Treaty (and with Gorbachev's help), achieve a historic arms control breakthrough: the elimination of an entire class of nuclear weapons. What's more, the INF accords re-legitimized the arms control process (if a tough-on-defense U.S. president does it, then it must be okay), setting the stage for further progress toward deep cuts in long-range forces through the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), and reductions in expensive conventional forces through the upcoming Conventional Stability Talks (CST).

Yet for all the accolades that the INF Treaty brought Ronald Reagan, there are as yet few signs that Bush is eager to pick up the arms-control ball and run. Indications are, in fact, that he would reverse his predecessor's latter-day arms control priorities. During the campaign, Bush suggested his administration would put more emphasis on reducing conventional forces in Europe than on reducing strategic nuclear weapons. Such an approach could mean, in arms control parlance, holding START hostage to progress in CST, something most arms controllers oppose.

"The START train can't wait for conventional arms reductions," says Stephen Daggett of the Committee for National Se-

ALPS: Son of Star Wars?

To Mark Harrison, associate legislative director for SANE/FREEZE, recent reports that Star Wars is dead seem greatly exaggerated. Congress has been funding the program at only 75 percent of Reagan administration requests, and the Pentagon itself has scaled its plans for the program down to roughly half the original projected \$115 billion cost. But it is still a destabilizing enterprise that threatens the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and eats up a lot of the American taxpayers' money.

"I think Bush will fight for it," says Harrison, "The question is, Will he fight as hard as Ronald Reagan? SDI is seen as central by the right wing, and Bush still has to play to them."

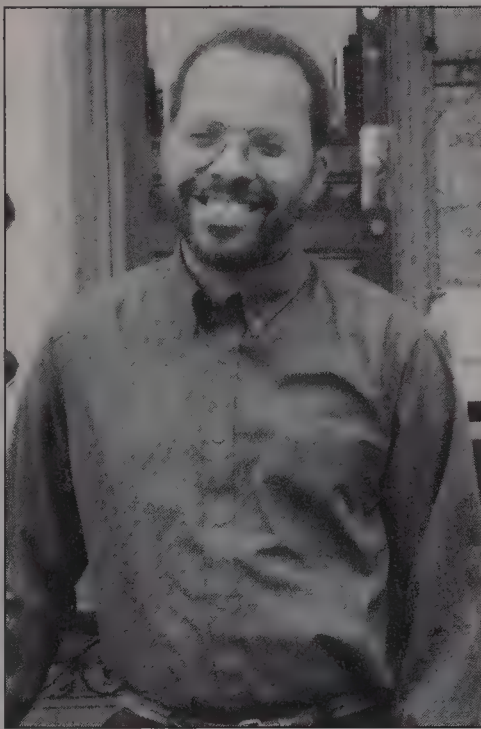
Regardless of Bush's personal feelings about SDI—he has been far less enthusiastic about it than Reagan—he may be facing a do-or-die dilemma. The growing defense budget crunch means Congress's purse strings will only get tighter. Without a major political or technological breakthrough—a deployable component, for example—funds for anything but research could dry up in two or three years. Yet any breakthrough would likely require Bush to throw himself personally behind SDI.

In Congress, there are continuing efforts to encourage SDI's demise. In the House, California Democrats Ron Delums and Barbara Boxer are proposing for the fourth time an amendment to the annual defense bill that would drastically cut and alter the program. Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Rep. Les AuCoin (D-Oregon) have introduced an Outer Space Protection Act, which would ban weapons from space and require negotiations with the Soviets to ensure that the "final frontier" is pre-

served for peaceful ventures.

Congressional sources point to a new initiative, however, that is likely to gain

more support than either of these. Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has raised the possibility of a new, limited version of SDI, called the "accidental launch protection system" (ALPS). It would be a smaller, ground-based system (rather than Reagan's fantastical space-based "shield") designed to defend the United States against an accidental or un-



Mark Harrison: Star Wars lives.

authorized missile launch.

Some see ALPS as a practicable compromise: a watered-down version of SDI that would still keep defense contractors occupied and conservatives quiet. But there are big questions about the program. Like other incarnations of SDI, ALPS could violate the ABM Treaty. Congress has so far been able to thwart administration efforts to adopt a "broader interpretation" of the treaty and engage in SDI research and testing that the Soviets view as impermissible.

Steven Wolfe, director of the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty, is monitoring the emerging ALPS proposal to see that it is treaty-compliant. "If it is, we have no problem with it," he says, "It's better than SDI as originally conceived by the Reagan administration."

But some in Congress fear that, far from bringing about SDI's slow death, ALPS could provide a foot-in-the-door—just the "breakthrough" the program needs to gain new momentum.

Harrison of SANE/FREEZE agrees, and plans to oppose the initiative as it develops: "It's just another way of continuing the arms race." —D.E.

Perestroika, U.S. Style

Pols, pundits and the public all agreed: the 1988 presidential campaign was the lowest, meanest, most issue-evasive in memory. But election day turnout—the lowest since 1924—was more than a message that voters want candidates to clean up their act. For Randy Kehler, it was a symptom of a deep flaw in modern American democracy.

"A lot of people figure, Why bother to vote? The system is sewn up," says Kehler, former national coordinator for the Freeze campaign. "It's run by people who are rich or hired by the rich. The policies don't change whether it's Republicans or Democrats."

Kehler calls it the "money-media problem": the cost of getting elected in a media-dominated age has put politicians at the mercy of big-money donors, especially corporate-, labor- and other interest-group-controlled political action committees (PACs). Not only does this make office-holders beholden to special interests, it gives an unfair advantage to incumbents, whose fund-raising capabilities are far greater than would-be challengers'. The results were apparent in the November congressional elections, where campaign spending ran as high as \$25 million in California's senate race, and only a half-dozen incumbents were unseated out of 468 contests.

At the level of political debate and policymaking, the money-media problem means that the arguments of activists who are not backed up by big money are "locked out." "I come at this out of frustration," says Kehler, "In trying to stop the nuclear arms race, I've found that in the electoral and legislative arena, there's been a stacked deck."

As a result of his concern, Kehler has

joined forces with Marty Jezer, a writer and activist, and Ben Senturia, former political director of the Freeze campaign, to launch a "Citizens' Campaign for Democratic Elections." Among their proposed reforms:

- Public funding of all federal election campaigns, with strict limits on private fund-raising, to allow ordinary citizens to assist their chosen parties and candidates, while doing away with PACs, "fat cats" and other advantages of money and power.

- Time limits on active campaigning, to cut costs

and allow incumbents more time to actually govern between elections.

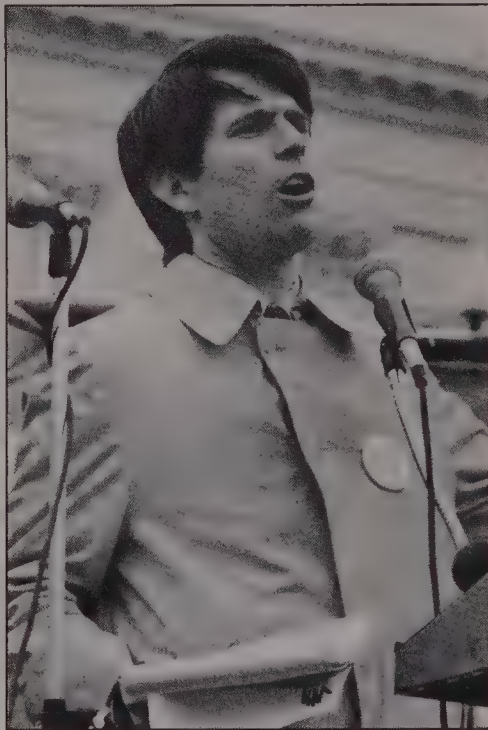
- Equal access for all candidates to the media, especially television, and measures such as required debates and meetings with voters, to encourage serious policy discussions over "handler-managed" appearances.

To help build a grassroots movement behind what he calls "Perestroika, American-style," Kehler plans to organize local citizens' groups, who will draft "fair election guidelines" for the 1990 elections, followed by petition drives to press candidates to comply voluntarily with the proposed reforms. The ultimate goal is national legislation and perhaps even constitutional reform.

Kehler hopes to win the support of a broad range of constituencies, including fellow peace activists. "Until we restructure the process by which we choose and influence our policymakers," he says, "We're not going to get different policies."

—D.E.

For more information, contact: Study Group for Electoral Democracy, Rural Route, Box 498, Colrain, Massachusetts 01340, (413) 624-5858.



Randy Kehler: revitalize democracy.

curity, "Everybody knows CST will take very long time."

What Bush will do about Star Wars also of critical importance to START. The Soviets have said they will not sign START treaty unless the United States agrees to abide by the "traditional interpretation" of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Testing and deployment of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) would violate that interpretation, imperiling START, fueling the arms race (by inducing the Soviets to build more offensive weapons to overcome the new strategic defense), and paving the way for space to serve as a superpower battleground.

On Star Wars, Bush again has been unclear. Last August, he promised to deploy the system "as soon as feasible." Later in the campaign he was more cautious, expressing concern about the program's high cost and saying he would put off any decision on deployment. Still later, in what appeared to be a bow to right-wing critics, he again said he favored testing and deployment as soon as the system was ready.

The only arms control issue on which Bush has made himself perfectly clear is that of chemical and biological weapons. Though he twice broke a tie in the Senate to permit U.S. chemical weapons production, Bush has now promised to pursue as his top arms-control priority a treaty banning chemical and biological weapons. (His mother reportedly complained to him after his earlier tie-breaking votes.)

Bush's repeated emphasis on "peace through strength" indicates his personal preference is arms acquisition rather than arms control. Former SALT negotiator Paul Warnke has charged him with favoring a "Noah's Ark defense strategy": two of every strategic system. But unlike Reagan, who came to office amid charges that Jimmy Carter had let U.S. defenses go slack, Bush faces constraints that will make another military buildup impossible. The Democratically controlled Congress is keenly aware that public support for military spending has declined significantly (see page 21), and that concerns about a "missile gap" have been replaced by worries about the balance of trade, the national debt, and holes in the social safety net.

The Pentagon itself has acknowledged that "zero growth" in the defense budget is the best the next president can expect. Analysts say that will mean reducing forces or eliminating weapons systems or both—to the tune of \$300 billion or more over the next five years. Yet during the campaign Bush stubbornly refused to say exactly what he would do about this problem, even though from his own perspective

merican security hangs on such decisions.

NEW SECURITY VIEWS

om the perspective of a growing number of policymakers—and just plain citizens—merican security hangs even more on other factors: economic competitiveness, reduced international tensions, prosperity and stability in other countries, and the biological health of the world as a whole. This alternative view of security is replacing the Cold War containment theories that posited communist expansionism as the only “evil” necessary to combat. With a growing number of Third World countries—and the Soviet Union itself—adopting Western political and economic models, and with the rise of other threats—such as Third World instability, nuclear proliferation, and global pollution—containment increasingly seems a weak foundation on which to build U.S. foreign policy.

Though Bush’s campaign speeches frequently touted the militaristic “peace through strength” policies of the Reagan administration, he also acknowledged some wisdom in these newer views. “Economic growth is now as much a matter of foreign policy as it is of monetary policy,” he said. And, “The interests of the world and the cause of peace are best served not merely by containing communism but by spreading freedom and democracy.” Bush’s conception of democracy, it should be noted, once embraced the likes of former Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos.) It is questionable, however, whether Bush will embrace an equally important component of the new security thinking: the need for strengthening multilateral institutions. Though multilateralism has gained legitimacy—with negotiated settlements emerging in Afghanistan, Angola, Namibia and Cambodia—the Reagan administration has failed to restore fully its commitment to the most significant multilateral institution, the United Nations. The United States continues to be \$420 million in arrears on its dues, a problem that threatens, among other things, the Nobel prize-winning U.N. peacekeeping forces. Conservatives can be counted on to pressure the Bush administration to keep it that way.

Bush, who served as U.N. ambassador under Nixon, gained no particular reputation for hostility to the world body, as did Jeane Kirkpatrick under Reagan. However, in campaign speeches, Bush often said that the United States was the only country morally suited to leadership of the “Free World,” and he promised to protect American “sovereignty” from the clutches of multilateral organizations.

(Continued on page 20)

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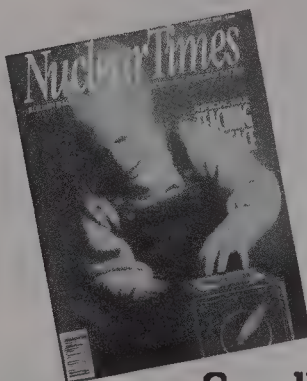
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HA19

On January 16, just four days before George Bush takes his oath of office, we will observe the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Many remember King as the leader of the Montgomery bus boycott and the August 1963 march on Washington. The speech he gave to the thousands of marchers gathered at the Lincoln Memorial that sweltering afternoon is arguably one of the most moving speeches in American history.

But that was the King of the early 1960s—before violence erupted in our inner cities, before Black Power, and before the country plunged deeper into the quagmire of Vietnam.

By 1967, King was beset on all sides. Civil rights leaders condemned him for his refusal to denounce black militancy. Black and white militants condemned King's unflinching adherence to nonviolence and "moderation." And when he began to publicly criticize the war in Vietnam, he was roundly attacked by the black community, its white allies, and even members of his own Southern Christian Leadership Conference board, who feared King would divert attention from civil rights, alienate financial supporters and enrage the Johnson administration.

But King continued to speak out, and an April 1967 speech, entitled "Beyond Vietnam," crystallized his views on the war. The speech, which he gave at the Riverside Church in New York a year

before he was assassinated, was sponsored by Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, an organization that later became Clergy and Laity Concerned.

In the speech, King rebuked his critics who claimed, "[p]eace and civil rights don't mix . . ." He condemned the violence perpetrated by the United States on the Vietnamese people. He called for an end to U.S. bombing and a unilateral cease-fire. He called for mass protest and resistance. And he called on draft-age men to become conscientious objectors.

More importantly, King went "beyond Vietnam" to address what he saw to be a destructive flaw in American policies. He predicted this failing would lead the United States into similar conflicts in other Third World countries and charged that our nation had chosen to be "on the wrong side of a world revolution." Linking the war to domestic policy, he drew the connection between the spending of billions of dollars on death and destruction and the neglect of the poor, the jobless, the undereducated and the sick at home. These are precisely the links that now, 20 years later, some U.S. peace groups are emphasizing in their drive to end the arms race.

Below we have excerpted and edited the last third of this profound speech.

—The Editor

A 1967 speech linking peace and justice

Beyond Vietnam

shows a forgotten side of Martin Luther King

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find ourselves organizing Clergy and Laymen Concerned committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies

without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. Such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as children of the living God.

In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past 10 years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression that now has justified the presence of U.S. military "advisers" in Venezuela. This need

to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Colombia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru. It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent

WESLEY



revolution inevitable."

Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken—the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and pleasures that come from the profits of overseas investment.

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing-oriented" society to a "person-oriented" society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

True revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside; but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it is not haphazard and superficial. It comes to see that an edifice that produces beggars needs restructuring. A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say: "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just. A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war: "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is noth-

ing, except a tragic death wish, to prevent us from reordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against communism.



King at the Riverside Church: We must undergo a radical revolution of values.

War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. Let us not join those who shout war and through their misguided passions urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days that demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not call everyone a communist or an appeaser who advocates the seating of Red China in the United Nations and who recognizes that hate and hysteria are not the final answers to the problem of these turbulent days. We must not engage in a negative anti-communism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity and injustice that are the fertile soil in which the seed of communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light." We in the West must support

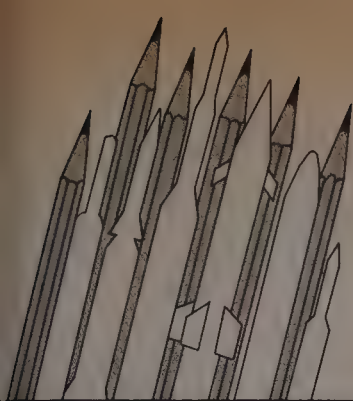
these revolutions. It is a sad fact that, because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch anti-revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Therefore, communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the revolutions that we initiated. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain."

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their societies.

We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world—a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long dark and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

Now let us begin. Now let us re-dedicate ourselves to the long and bitter—but beautiful—struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the children of God, and our brothers and sisters wait eagerly for our response. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message, of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.

A complete, unedited reprint of two King speeches, "Beyond Vietnam" and "Casualties of the War in Vietnam," is available for \$2.50 per copy from Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, (212) 964-6730. Discounted bulk orders are available.



DEADLINE

**A Bulletin From the Center for War,
Peace, and the News Media**

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1989

VOLUME IV, NO. 1

The Half-life of The Tritium Story

By William Lanouette

Reporters have covered the nation's disintegrating nuclear-power program doggedly, especially since the accident at Three Mile Island in 1979. But while the civilian atom has attracted reporters from almost every beat, the military atom has received comparatively little press attention. That is, until last October.

Then the national news media, fed by rare and carefully timed admissions from the Energy Department and led by *The New York Times*, transformed what had been seen as a specialized and local story into a national scandal. Accidents at military reactors, it turned out, had been just as serious as the one at Three Mile Island: Nuclear fuel had melted, and radioactivity had escaped into the environment. Indeed, the weapons-production system itself had become so unsafe and unsound that it had ceased to function.

Appearing as they did, the revelations of last fall raise the basic question: Why has press attention focused on the military atom now?

For years reporters on science and defense beats have known, and have written, that America's vast and costly nuclear-weapons-production system is in serious and dangerous decay. In 1974 Robert Gillette reported in a *Science* magazine series on nuclear-waste leaks at the Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford Reservation near Richland, Washington. Regional newspapers have exposed health and safety problems at the various weapons plants. Prime-time network television documentaries, such as NBC's "Danger! Radioactive Waste" in 1977, have flashed alarming views of the problems that weapons-making creates. And, periodically, articles in national newspapers and magazines have featured the different environmental and safety problems posed by the military atom.

But what finally fused these disparate episodes into a comprehensive national story? Reviewing the coverage that erupted last fall, several answers to "why now?" seem clear. In eight leading national publications (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*), the weapons-production story seemed to gain

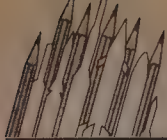
attention because of a new angle: a potential threat to national security. The well-documented health and safety problems that had festered in and around the vast weapons network for years apparently lacked the necessary significance to rate as a national story. But when national security concerns were added, they focused the press's attention on the military atom's old problems. Suddenly, according to some officials at Energy and Defense, the country's nuclear arsenal seemed to be running short of tritium, the hydrogen isotope in H-bombs. And the cost of making more tritium, and of cleaning up the production system that had failed, seemed about to hobble efforts to cut the federal deficit. That was news.

Tritium, a gaseous, radioactive hydrogen isotope with three times the mass of ordinary hydrogen, is produced in nuclear reactors and is needed to fuel thermonuclear weapons. It decays naturally at a rate of about 5.5 percent a year, and must be routinely added to nuclear warheads to keep them operational. The feared tritium shortage is ironic—and a key element in the whole weapons-program story—because it occurred as a result of the Reagan administration's efforts to boost nuclear warhead production. Neglecting safety and environmental concerns, the administration burdened the aging atomic-military complex until it collapsed. By last summer a plutonium-production reactor at the Hanford Reservation had been shut down permanently, and safety concerns had suspended operations at the system's three remaining tritium-production reactors, at the Savannah River Plant near Aiken, South Carolina. In addition, the new warheads installed during Reagan's two terms required more tritium than older models; annual requirements for tritium had grown to five kilograms a year, up from three kilograms under Carter. Energy Department disclosures and an alarming statement by a Pentagon official linking the reactor mess to national security—plus the persistence of *The New York Times*—transformed the weapons-system scandal into a page-1 story.

DoE Disclosures

The Energy Department's role in last fall's press coverage is curious. In the spirit of its secretive predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Energy Department has maintained strict silence about its nuclear operations, even disguising and misrepresenting problems in order to maintain weapons production. Yet the depart-

Inside: Advance Notices on PBS's Nuclear Age



ment's habitual secrecy was deliberately breached from within by two important disclosures, giving reporters the most newsworthy information to come out last fall. First, DoE officials admitted that repairing the weapons program would be surprisingly costly, by early estimates \$100 billion, later growing beyond \$150 billion. Second, an internal memo disclosing thirty serious accidents at weapons-production plants was volunteered to a congressional staff member. When this memo was released, it became the focus of most national press coverage.

The story of these revelations begins when Energy Secretary John S. Herrington appointed a safety advisory board to review operations at the country's aging weapons-production facilities. Like the ill-fated plant at Chernobyl, DoE's weapons reactors were also graphite-moderated and lacked the steel and concrete containment domes now common to civilian nuclear plants.

As the scope of the program's environmental and safety problems became apparent, the Energy Department faced tough choices about how to maintain its

aging weapons-production complex and manage the radioactive waste that had already been created. Above all, DoE realized how much an overhaul of the system might cost. Herrington also knew that in a climate of budget austerity he needed to warn Congress early about rising expenses. In March 1988 he sent Joseph Salgado, his under secretary of energy, to hearings on the weapons program by the House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Hazardous Materials. There Salgado admitted that decontaminating the department's existing weapons-making sites could cost at least \$100 billion. "The cleanup of environmental problems cannot happen overnight," he warned. "It costs dollars. It costs big dollars." In July Herrington released his advisory panel's expensive recommendations: Build new reactors at Savannah River and at the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory.

Even more unusual than admitting these soaring costs was the Energy Department's decision in September to tell a congressional committee about an internal memo that revealed thirty serious accidents in the weapons program—including details about the melting of radioactive fuel. Apparently, Herrington and his aides decided that admitting past errors was the only way to dramatize their serious plight, demonstrate their willingness to improve, and obtain the money they needed. Salgado said as much when he cited the government's "moral obligation to rectify past sins" committed in the weapons program. In this way and for these reasons,

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Nuclear Age

Early Takes on PBS's *Nuclear Age*

As History**Direct Hits, Soft Targets***By Gregg Herken*

Nuclear history has always seemed a peculiar term to describe events that are so recently past, with consequences that are still very much with us. *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age*—the ambitious thirteen-part series by Boston public television station WGBH that debuts on January 23—makes a major contribution by putting those events and consequences in perspective. In the process it shows how much today's world of almost 60,000 nuclear and thermonuclear weapons differs from the time, some forty years ago, when there existed but a few copies of what was then called, simply and reverentially, the Bomb.

As the airing of this program makes clear, what has changed is far more than just the number of weapons. In 1948, NSC-30, a top-secret document detailing the Truman administration's policy on atomic warfare, urged that public discussion of the circumstances under which this nation might use nuclear weapons be discouraged, on the premise that the resulting debate might give a prospective enemy the impression that Americans lacked the will to use the bomb after Hiroshima. Four years later, a proposed joint statement by Truman and President-elect Eisenhower on the destructiveness of H-bombs and the perils of an accelerating arms race was scrapped for fear that the truth might incite panic.

The fact that the WGBH series, which cost \$7 million to produce, has received financial support from seven distinguished foundations and advice from a constellation of academic luminaries and government officials shows that there is now genuine eagerness to get the truth out about the bomb. *Nuclear Age* succeeds brilliantly in making both vivid and understandable a subject that much of the public has found dauntingly incomprehensible. But while it succeeds admirably in informing, *Nuclear Age* is so determinedly middle of the road in its approach to the subject—so shy of controversy, seemingly by design—that it adds disappointingly little to the nuclear debate that was discouraged for so long and that remains, once again, postponed.

Taking a roughly chronological approach, the series begins with the building of the atomic bomb and pro-

ceeds in hour-long segments to episode twelve, "Reagan's Shield," the story of the Strategic Defense Initiative. (The last episode, not available for this review but scheduled for broadcast in mid-April, will analyze "the continuing themes of the nuclear age.")

The programs are most successful in doing what television arguably does best, and what those who write and lecture on this subject have perhaps found most difficult: recapturing for the audience something of the temper of the times. One can cite public opinion polls that reflect this country's deep fear of Russia during the peak of cold war tensions, but the point is made more directly and much more forcefully by the film clip of Texas congressman J. Frank Wilson urging use of the atomic bomb in the Korean War on the premise that "dirty Communists should be shown how tough war can be." Conversely, Soviet foreign policy analyst Henry Trofimenko's recollection of his country's exultation over *Sputnik* shows how that success helped assuage the Russians' long-term feelings of inferiority to the West: "Americans are still on the ground. We are in space," Trofimenko said. "We always were secretly envying the Americans for their technical prowess. And now we are America!"

Chilling Frankness

By a happy coincidence of timing, the WGBH programs may also be, along with the INF treaty, one of the products of *glasnost* visible to Americans. When the producers initially got in touch with the Russians about the series in 1985, questions relating to the policies and personalities of Soviet leaders were evidently answered with profound silence. But by the time WGBH's interviewers returned to Russia for a fourth and final visit earlier this year, Soviet generals were freely admitting that their Strategic Rocket Forces posed a theoretical threat to the survivability of U.S. ICBMs, and a former Soviet foreign ministry official confirmed not only that his government had reneged on an earlier promise to give the Chinese the blueprints for an atomic bomb, but also that the Russians subsequently considered military action to prevent China from developing a nuclear capability on its own.

This view of the Russians, by the Russians, is one of the most fascinating aspects of the series. Americans grown accustomed to dire warnings about the Soviet threat may be surprised to see how things looked from the other side during the early 1950s, as reflected in the comments of Nikolai Chervov, now a Soviet general: "The [American] preponderance was very big, very big. . . . The U.S. nuclear superiority was absolute. Apart from that, U.S. territory was at that time invulnerable." Likewise, a Soviet interpretation of Truman's decision

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to drop the atomic bomb might come as something of a shock to Americans who remember 1945: "At that time, of course, we understood that the real purpose of the nuclear bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not against the Japanese, or even to end the Second World War, but to show the Soviet Union [the strength of] the United States."

Interestingly, many of the Soviets come across as more forthcoming than the American experts. There is a chilling frankness to the admission of Feodor Burlatsky, Nikita Khrushchev's speech writer, regarding the Soviet leader's 1962 decision to put nuclear missiles in Cuba: "Khrushchev did not take into account the consequences of his actions." One American exception is Frank Camm, a retired Army general, who compares the introduction of nuclear weapons into NATO in the mid-1950s with "handing a hand grenade to a caveman."

Nuclear Age also succeeds in making understandable to a general audience what scholars know about the bomb and its crucial role in Soviet-American relations. Episode six, "The Education of Robert McNamara," documents in detail the fact, well-established by historians but rarely presented on television, that the United States only belatedly recognized, with the advent of reconnaissance satellites in the early 1960s, that the missile gap did indeed exist—but was actually five-to-one in America's favor. Other episodes present for the television audience evidence recently uncovered that promises to change our understanding of the cold war.

For example, the common wisdom that the Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest the superpowers have yet come to nuclear war may have to be revised in light of the disclosure by a former Soviet commander that the Russians facing American tanks over the Berlin Wall in 1961 had been given the order to open fire if the United States attempted to knock it down, as several of Kennedy's advisers were then urging. Similarly, the belief that Robert Kennedy was a calm and moderating influence during the Cuban crisis—an image furthered by numerous books on the subject, including RFK's own—will have to be reexamined in the wake of evidence presented in part five, "At the Brink," that he was one of the first to advocate the invasion of Cuba, even suggesting at one point that it might be necessary to "sink the *Maine* again or something" to provide the pretext for invasion.

Notwithstanding the gravity of the subject, there are occasional flashes of humor in the series—some all the funnier, perhaps, because inadvertent—and all colored by the shadow of the gallows. In "A Bigger Bang for the Buck," part three, Admiral Gerry Miller, a former U.S. war planner, translates the "Guidance," the top-secret document of the early 1960s that gave instructions on how he and other Pentagon targeteers were to pick the aiming points for the bombs that would be dropped on the Soviet Union. "Moderate damage is gravel," said Miller. "Severe damage is dust. They didn't want it re-

duced to gravel—they wanted it reduced to dust." "Missile Experimental," part eleven, recounts the Air Force's epic but ultimately futile effort—as technologically inspired as it was politically inept—to find an invulnerable basing mode for its MX. By the time a western rancher whose land was being considered as a site for the missile told the Air Force in a public hearing that the proper mode for the MX was the "commode," that service had all but given up the fight.

Nuclear Age handles some themes with pellucid clarity. For example, one gains a truer appreciation of the degree to which deterrence has always depended upon bluff from the words of a former member of the NATO planning staff, who describes early plans for the nuclear defense of Europe: "We didn't have at that time the capability to fight effectively with nuclear weapons. 'We didn't even know how we would go about doing it very well. But that didn't matter. Because no one knew we didn't. Least of all the Russians.'" (Similarly, in 1948, when Truman sent supposedly "atomic-capable" B-29 bombers to Europe at the height of the Berlin crisis, he secretly neglected to send the bomb with them, since he was unwilling to relinquish civilian control. The ruse nonetheless worked, according to a Soviet general.)

The series also reminds viewers of the decidedly mixed—if not downright depressing—record of superpower arms control. But it does take note of an encouraging trend in the surprising number of occasions where the United States and the Soviet Union have tacitly cooperated to reduce the danger of nuclear war. Days after U.S. planes bombed a North Vietnamese port crowded with Russian ships in 1972, Soviet and American SALT negotiators were back at the bargaining table. In 1977 Soviet intelligence tipped the United States to South African preparations for a nuclear test, which were subsequently abandoned under American pressure. And the producers offer occasional reminders that things do not always turn out to be as bad as predicted. John Kennedy warned there might be as many as twenty nuclear powers by the mid-1970s; as of now, official membership in the nuclear club stands at six.

Avoiding Crucial Questions

For all its merits, *Nuclear Age* contains major and minor flaws, among which are some surprising gaps. Civil defense, for example, is virtually ignored—despite the fact that this nation was once in the grip of a fallout-shelter mania, while the argument that the Soviets take shelters seriously has been a staple of the American defense debate. Nor is any real attention paid to the degree to which technology gives impetus to the arms race—even though there are various hints to that effect in several episodes. ("We didn't think, 'Is this trip necessary?'" admits atomic scientist Philip Morrison of the mood at Los Alamos after the German surrender. "We just kept right on." In "Zero Hour," part ten, a spokesman for Boeing, the prime contractor for the air-

launched cruise missile, enthuses over the product's technological virtuosity. "Literally, you could program it to spell *Pepsi-Cola*."

The lack of any analysis of the economic and political pressures that determine how nuclear weapons are developed and procured is significant. Missing from "Missile Experimental," for example, is the story of how the Air Force succeeded in guaranteeing a constituency for both the MX and B-1 bomber—and cleverly made those weapons virtually invulnerable to their domestic critics, if not to the Russians—by selectively spreading contracts and deployments throughout the United States. Another tale not told here is how the father of the nuclear Navy, Admiral Hyman Rickover, determined by sheer force of personality and with the help of his friends in Congress that this nation's submarine-borne deterrent would consist of a small number of large boats carrying missiles, instead of the large (and more strategically sensible) number of small boats preferred by Navy planners.

More fundamental is a failing that seems attributable to a lack of inquisitiveness—or, more likely, an excess of caution—on the part of the project's creators. From the opening minutes of part one, "Dawn," to the closing scenes of "Missile Experimental," much is made of how nuclear arsenals have grown from the original "gadget" of 1945 to today's absurdly swollen stockpiles. In none of these episodes, however, is an attempt made to explain why the world's nuclear firepower has grown at such a rate, beyond any reasonable concept of deterrence, to the point where the equivalent of some two and a half tons of dynamite has been targeted against every human being on the planet. It is a question that the producers of *Nuclear Age* bump into continually and frequently sidle around, but never confront. Yet it should have been at the center of their inquiry.

Any attempt to answer the question of why we have so many nuclear weapons—or, more precisely, what the weapons are for—requires a recognition that this country, like the Soviet Union, has two distinct and sometimes conflicting nuclear weapons policies. The first of these, the declared policy, is deterrence; the second, the actual policy, is founded upon the premise that it may someday be necessary to fight a nuclear war. The essence of deterrence is retaliation; the essence of war-fighting is preemption—striking the enemy first, before he has the chance to deliver his blow. In nuclear strategy it is not what one says but what one plans for that counts, and by this measure what is important is that both sides have planned to preempt the other's attack.

The first time the WGBH series comes close to acknowledging this essential fact is in the third episode, "A Bigger Bang for the Buck," which tells the story of how a 1957 presidential commission discovered that the mainstay of the U.S. deterrent—the Strategic Air Command, under its legendary leader, General Curtis LeMay—"was not as prepared as its publicity

claimed.... Instead, SAC was hoping to get in the first blow itself." When two leading members of the commission, Robert Sprague and Jerome Weisner, confront LeMay on this point, he acknowledges the weakness but discounts its importance, telling his visitors that upon receiving unambiguous strategic warning of a

Nuclear Age is so determinedly middle of the road in its approach to the subject, so shy of controversy, that it adds disappointingly little to the nuclear debate.

Soviet attack, "I'm going to knock the shit out of them." (Asked by this reviewer in a telephone conversation a few years ago exactly what constituted "unambiguous strategic warning"—a phrase that appears with almost mantralike regularity in SAC's lexicon—LeMay opined that academics should "not get their nuts in an uproar over that.")

In this episode, Sprague claims that when he protested to LeMay that preemptive attack was not President Eisenhower's policy, the SAC commander told him, "No, it's not national policy, but it's my policy." Weisner substantially corroborates Sprague's story, but quotes LeMay as saying, "No, but it's my job to make it possible for the president to change his policy." Since the issue is dropped there it leaves unanswered an interesting and vital question: What was U.S. policy in the event of warning of a Soviet attack, and who would actually determine that policy—LeMay or the president? (Nor was it an idle question at the time. The story this episode does not tell is that Sprague next visited the office of Eisenhower's secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, where Sprague hinted broadly that the United States might wish to consider a military confrontation with Russia while this country still had a nuclear advantage. Dulles would have none of it—telling Sprague "he had long felt that no man should arrogate the power to decide that the future of mankind would benefit by an action entailing the killing of tens of millions of people, and he believed the president agreed with this.")

Later, in episode six, "The Education of Robert McNamara," the series again sidesteps the question of what American nuclear weapons policy is, and who makes it. The program tells how President Kennedy's secretary of defense moved away from "damage limitation"—the strategy of aiming weapons at weapons, not people—once he realized it provided the Air Force with the intellectual and budgetary justification it needed to pursue a first-strike strategy. Once more, however, the program shies away from controversy, referring only to vague considerations of "limited nuclear options," when

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As Television Low-Intensity Chronicle

By Joseph M. Russin

There has been a lot of history on television in recent years, whether fictionalized in lavish miniseries, re-created in docudramas, or retold in nostalgia shows that help networks profitably amortize their image libraries. One source of inspiration for people who make historical documentaries is the 1972 classic *World at War*, a series that showed just how powerful historical film can be in telling stories of the past. Zvi Dor-Ner first saw *World at War* when he was a cameraman for Israeli television in Jerusalem. The show "was a great revelation for me," he recalls. It showed "what could be done" with television.

Many years later, as executive producer of the forthcoming public broadcasting series *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age*, Dor-Ner got the chance to create his own major work of history on television. The thirteen-part series, produced at WGBH of Boston, the premier production house for public broadcasting, will be telecast weekly on most public television stations beginning January 23. The observations below are based on ten of the hour-long programs available for this review.

JOSEPH M. RUSSIN is an independent television producer. He was senior producer of the PBS series Inside Story, hosted by Hodding Carter, a program that examined media issues.

Direct Hits, Soft Targets

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in fact Kennedy's advisers had drawn up plans for a nuclear "warning shot" and even a disarming first strike against Russia if conventional war broke out over Berlin. Moreover, the program does not point out that McNamara claims he remained sufficiently concerned with the Air Force and its preemption plans that he advised Kennedy in the event of a Soviet attack to wait until after the first bomb had landed—and then to personally inspect the damage—before giving LeMay the authority to retaliate, advice he claimed later to have given President Johnson as well.

Likewise, "Missile Experimental" correctly notes that survivability and silo-busting accuracy are a strange combination of attributes in the MX, a weapon ostensibly built for deterrence, since the enemy's missile silos will presumably be empty when the retaliatory blow arrives. But the episode stops short of drawing the logical conclusion: that the MX was always intended to be a first-strike weapon. (Presumably no one on either side is actually intending to use the weapons in an unprovoked attack; instead, the supposed utility of being able

Like *World at War*, *Nuclear Age* is packed with an immense variety of archival material. From the almost surreal scenes of Chinese cavalymen, their horses wearing masks to shield them from fallout, practicing to charge with rifles blazing on a nuclear battlefield, to the wonderfully innocent "I Like Ike" 1952 animated commercial, to the audiotape recordings of President Kennedy and his key advisers sifting their options during the Cuban Missile Crisis, *Nuclear Age* takes good advantage of the fact that the nuclear age has occurred in the age of the camera. Dor-Ner's series includes arresting Soviet footage ranging from World War II-era atomic research labs to modern Red Army maneuvers, missile exercises, and Soviet propaganda films, which in style and tone are remarkably similar to U.S. Army and Air Force films made in the same periods.

But there are differences between *World at War* and *Nuclear Age*. Most important, *World at War* told the history of World War II through episodes that were stories in themselves. *Nuclear Age* is a tightly compressed account of a complicated half-century: storytelling is subordinate to chronology. In style and in tone, *Nuclear Age* is much closer in conception to another WGBH series, *Vietnam: A Television History*. Elizabeth Deane, *Nuclear Age* senior producer, is a veteran of Vietnam. As in *Vietnam*, the story in *Nuclear Age* is carried forward by recollections of participants in the events in question. While narration is an important part of the continuity, the subject is the star of these shows. And as with the Vietnam series, academic advisers played a key role in developing *Nuclear Age*. (The idea for the series evolved from a Harvard/MIT summer

to preempt your enemy's attack is in forcing him to back down in a time of international crisis. The emphasis upon preemption by both sides creates the greatest danger of nuclear war—a situation of mutually reinforcing military alerts—but the presumed political utility of nuclear weapons is another subject not addressed here.)

The timidity of the producers in failing to deal with some of the central issues of war and peace in the nuclear age is unfortunate, particularly since this otherwise admirable program deserves the large audience it will almost surely get. In promotional material, the program's executive producer, Zvi Dor-Ner, confesses that he and his colleagues completed their project "with a mixture of frustration and satisfaction. Each one of us," Dor-Ner wrote, "approached our task with the deeply felt hope that, in addition to conveying important information with force and excitement, we would arrive at solutions to nuclear conundrums. In the end, we have no answers."

After nearly fifty years of the bomb, answers are probably too much to expect. What should be regretted, instead, is that the creators of *Nuclear Age* were not more bold in asking the difficult questions. □

seminar program on nuclear issues, begun in 1983 for liberal arts faculty members.)

Much of what did emerge in *Nuclear Age* is worthwhile. One not only gets reacquainted with (or, more likely for much of the television audience, introduced to) a good deal of nuclear history, in some of its best moments, key discussions once held behind closed and guarded doors are candidly revealed. The producers have interviewed scores of people intimately familiar with the great nuclear decisions of the past four decades. Although not often a source of brand new information, these participants provide intriguing insights into both pivotal decisions and the decision makers.

Scholarship vs. Showmanship

But despite these moments and the public service performed in offering this information, *Nuclear Age* is a mixed success. The wide audience the series deserves may find it both intimidating and at times soporific. The main problems appear to be in the design of the series and in the individual broadcasts, the style of the production, and the technique of the journalism.

When the producers first began laying out the series they faced a basic choice: construct an expository history, with programs built around a chronology; or select several quintessential events—much as the play *A Walk in the Woods* focuses on arms negotiations—and tell the story of those events as dramatically as the material allows, filling in the chronology around those stories.

Before *Nuclear Age*, Dor-Ner was the executive producer of an often brilliant and insufficiently appreciated series on business called *Enterprise*. His approach there was to get inside access to a situation with dramatic potential—diamond merchants arranging a deal, a high-tech entrepreneur trying to capitalize a new company—and tell the story mostly with vérité footage. Often viewers were able to see the protagonists change or reveal their true colors, much as they do in good fiction, as the deals succeeded or soured. One might have expected Dor-Ner to bring those same storytelling skills to *Nuclear Age*. Instead, perhaps because the series was conceived by its academic parents as a history, he embarked on producing a chronology. “The choice between showmanship and scholarship is a tricky one,” he says. “We always went more to the analytic side. I was very conscious of the fact that I was doing history, and you cannot muck up history using show business techniques.”

Thus only three episodes succeed in becoming dramatic stories in themselves (although others make some effort in this direction). One, “At the Brink,” program five, covers the real life drama of the Cuban Missile Crisis; another, “The Education of Robert McNamara,” program six, tries to explain nuclear strategies by focusing on the evolution of McNamara’s thinking; and the third, “Missile Experimental,” program eleven, explains weapons politics by making the missile the star.

To my eye, these are among the most watchable of the programs.

But these are exceptions. The rest of the shows cover periods of time more than stories. They often are more an example of “how daunting, how complicated, and how hard it is to work in this area,” as Dor-Ner himself puts it, than of engrossing television. While there is an effort in each program, always with at least some success, to identify a critical theme or story within the time period under investigation, these themes (like the INF negotiations or the MX) spill over into more than one show, giving viewers additional problems of keeping things straight.

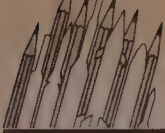
The result is that many programs of *Nuclear Age* seem more like video textbooks than accessible television shows. (In fact, several thousand students nationwide will be taking courses based on the series, complete with printed supplementary course materials.) I had the luxury of watching on tape, so I could stop and review sections when I got lost in the seamless web of the narration or became uncertain of who was talking and why. It was even better with a script in hand. Home viewers will have to face their television sets unassisted.

Having chosen the hard road of relating a chronicle, the producers also seem to have cut themselves and

“I was very conscious of the fact that I was doing history,” said the executive producer, Zvi Dor-Ner, “and you cannot muck up history using show business techniques.”

the viewers off from many of the tools available for these situations. Take the matter of graphics, an area where digital production devices have enormously enhanced television’s ability to deal with complicated material. There are more graphic aids in a live NFL football game (and even some *MacNeill/Lehrer NewsHours*) than in much of *Nuclear Age*. Dates and locations are rarely indicated, sometimes never. The names and titles of people speaking are unusually small. Maps are doled out stingily, as if they were gold, and they frequently lack either titles or panache. Producers of local news, under daily deadline pressures, manage to use a character generator to summarize major arguments on the screen. But in *Nuclear Age* such effects were used so sparingly that it was almost startling to see the three basic points of the Scowcroft Commission, which studied options for the future of land-based ICBMs, on-screen in program eleven, or the SALT I provisions graphically (if prosaically) explained in program seven. It is almost as if the *Nuclear Age* staff feared modern graphics were antithetical to serious subjects.

Nuclear Age does use a series of animations by NHK



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(Japanese Television) to illustrate various scenarios for the use of missiles. Although clear and to the point, their soft, almost minimalist aura only emphasizes the discomfort the producers seem to have had with graphics. These graphics help explain, but they do nothing to enliven. And they are often outshone by the glossier presentations in various government and industry films used in the programs.

Nuclear Age was shot and edited on videotape, but the editing and continuity style comes from film. In the beginning of the McNamara show, for instance, a point is made that the defense secretary recruited his team

After the compelling opening episode, which puts nineteen nuclear explosions in your living room in under eight minutes, bomb and blast pictures lose their power to startle.

of "defense intellectuals" from universities and think tanks. We see a series of people give their academic background, followed by a full-frame freeze with narration describing their jobs. Boring. And by the third introduction, confusing, because it is hard to remember all the new information. Digitally enhanced switchers, which allow a producer to put all these people on the screen at once in a way that graphically emphasizes the editorial point, were invented for jobs like this.

These difficulties are compounded by the uneven use *Nuclear Age* makes of its treasure trove of images. In "Dawn," part one, perhaps the most finely crafted of the chronology programs, we are often treated to superb picture selection. But in many other programs the pictures turn into "video wallpaper"—illustrations subservient to narration rather than story elements themselves.

This happens in part because some shows cover enormous ground. "Europe Goes Nuclear," program four, for instance, races through two decades of history in each of three countries. There is no time to tell a picture story. At times *Nuclear Age* fights the excellent footage it brings us. In "Haves and Have-Nots," program eight, on nuclear proliferation, important points in narration are nearly lost to the viewer because narration is forced to compete with exciting footage of the Israeli raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor.

Nuclear Age also has a penchant for many of the largely meaningless pictures of diplomatic arrivals, handshakes, chitchat, and ceremonies that clutter the evening news shows. The main purpose of those pictures in the first place is to provide something on the screen while the correspondent describes meetings or actions that were off-limits to cameras. In "Zero Hour," program ten, an account of arms control in the Reagan years, there were twenty-two such "photo opportunity"

sequences, not including other standard news fare such as Soviet military parades. The top of the show spends twenty-three seconds on Reagan and Gorbachev walking into a White House signing ceremony.

Also overused is some of the most powerful imagery. It seems as if every film of a nuclear explosion or an ICBM test is included somewhere in these thirteen hours. The problem is, after the compelling opening in "Dawn," which puts fourteen missile shots and nineteen nuclear explosions in your living room in under eight minutes, bomb and blast pictures begin to lose their power to startle.

Conversely, there is little representation in the series of the culture of the nuclear age—its music, art, movies, television dramas, or movement people. Not only does this deprive the series of a vast amount of the imagery, dramatization, and excitement that could have brought some of its programs to life, but the absence of such material seems to make a point of its own about the significance the producers attached to cultural forces.

A final quibble with the archival pictures is the general lack of consistent identification. Certainly the producers wished to avoid clutter, but at times government or industry film is labeled as such, at times it is not. So it is sometimes unclear whether the sound or pictures from a newsreel (or government film) are being used as examples (often ironic examples) of contemporary attitudes, for the facts they assert, or just for pictorial value. For instance, a Soviet film is used to show the signing of SALT II, with an uncontradicted narration saying the "U.S. military-industrial complex and [its] supporters are against it [the treaty]." Possibly true, but did the producers use this device to give the facts of the matter or to show us what the Soviets were thinking?

View from the Top

As important as the archive footage is, a great deal of the information in *Nuclear Age* comes from interviews with the participants in the events under consideration. This journalistic technique contains many traps. The main trap is the obvious one: strict monopolization of the discussion by certified players. And then, memories can change over the years or become self-serving. Key people can be unavailable or no longer alive. And stories told many times can lose their freshness to the teller—a factor that helps make "At the Brink" seem muted.

Reliance on interviews also creates a tendency to choose the Most Important People. And doing so leads to imbalance. Although nongovernment people—scientists, peace movement activists, soldiers, and so on—have cameo roles, the action in *Nuclear Age* is usually at the highest government levels. Aside from presidential elections fought on nuclear policy, there is little sense of the relevance of any politics outside the palace either in Washington or Moscow. The inference, intended or not, is that nuclear policy is the private domain of a

small group, and that only now and then, such as when Utah farmers resist the MX rail plan or European demonstrators worry their governments, does the outside world meaningfully intrude.

Perhaps the most complicated journalistic decision the producers faced, however, was the one concerning the use of material about and from the Soviet Union. Determined to stay with the policy of interviewing participants, the producers cut themselves off from knowledgeable people who were only experts by virtue of scholarship. The problem is, few high-ranking Soviets were available for reflective interviews. As Dor-Ner puts it, "They don't have what we have here—people who retire." Some Soviet defectors might be classified as retirees, but none are used in the series. Thus considerable weight is placed on the testimony of people like Henry Trofimenko, an analyst at the U.S.A.-Canada Institute, and Feodor Burlatsky, a literary editor currently in favor under Gorbachev. It is not that these men are uninformed or uninteresting to hear. But the technique of the series creates the problematical asymmetry of having Trofimenko speak with the same authority as a true policymaker.

At one point in the planning stage of the series the producers considered doing what was labeled the "black box" show—a program that would, as far as possible,

deal with Soviet nuclear history. The idea was dropped when *glasnost* appeared to allow enough Soviet representation to permit integration of Russian and American views in the same shows. Since so much of American policy has been based on what we think the Soviets are contemplating, there was much to recommend this approach. But too often the result is a false sense of equality of information. The intriguing glimpses into Soviet thinking that *Nuclear Age* does offer only highlight the absence of a fuller explanation.

Overreliance on interviews with participants and underuse of the modern digital-effects palette limited the ability of *Nuclear Age* to effectively impart and support the information it has to give. But the main problem with the series as a television experience lies elsewhere. While I was viewing the *Nuclear Age* programs, I had a chance to see a program from the *World at War* series that had so captivated Dor-Ner years ago. It was a powerful show that compares well with contemporary television. And the reason is not just the outcome, the great narration, or the cinematic editing. The real key is that *World at War* has what any television show must have to succeed: a compelling story told dramatically enough to engage the viewer. There have been many such stories in the nuclear age. Unfortunately, too few of them were told in this television history. □

The Tritium Story

(continued from page 2)

it now seems clear, the Energy Department—not investigative reporters or congressional aides—produced last fall's most significant revelations.

The Times Finds A Peg

Of course, the Energy Department might not have taken this strategy without fears aroused by new pressure from *The New York Times*. DoE's willingness to go public came as an industrious reporter, backed by his colleagues and editors, was taking aim at the weapons-production system. Keith Schneider, a national reporter covering agriculture and rural America from the paper's Washington bureau, first became interested in atomic energy when he worked as a free-lance writer in South Carolina. In the early 1980s Schneider had covered such nuclear topics as low-level-waste disposal, plutonium reprocessing and weapons production, nuclear power plant controversies, nuclear missile deployments from the submarine base at Charleston, and political tensions generated by the state's lucrative military contracts and local concerns about public health and safety.

Schneider joined the *Times* in September 1985, and while reporting throughout the West he found new problems relating to the nuclear-weapons complex. In November 1987 his front-page story recounted how the

Kerr-McGee Corporation had sprayed pastureland in Oklahoma with fertilizer recycled from radioactive wastes. In January 1988 he reported that the Energy Department's Waste Isolation Pilot Plant near Carlsbad, New Mexico, seemed doomed by water leaking underground. In March 1988 Schneider reported on a clash in Idaho over nuclear-weapons work and the state's agricultural economy. In April he reported on plutonium-waste leaks from weapons-production plants into an Idaho aquifer.

When Schneider returned to Washington in mid-April, he drafted a memo for the bureau and for his national-desk editors in New York, proposing a four-part series on the weapons-production system. One piece would cover environmental damage and the cost of cleaning it up, the story inspired by Salgado's congressional testimony in March. Another would detail the "domestic nuclear war," showing health effects of weapons tests and bomb-fuel production on workers and the public. A third would examine the geopolitical questions behind weapons production and arms-reduction talks. A fourth would describe costs and hazards associated with decommissioning and decontaminating the vast weapons-production network.

By late April, executive editor Max Frankel and managing editor Arthur Gelb had approved Schneider's request. He filed Freedom of Information Act requests with the Energy Department for thousands of documents. But he went to the Midwest to cover the drought,

and it was nearly Labor Day before the *Times* had two additional reporters working on Schneider's proposed series: energy writer Matthew L. Wald and national security reporter Michael R. Gordon. By mid-September, most of the articles were finished, and were scheduled to appear within a few weeks.

Then Schneider received a telephone call. Aides to Senator John Glenn (D-OH) alerted him—and many other reporters covering nuclear affairs—to joint hear-

Said one *New York Times* reporter, "Our editors haven't been this psyched about a story since the Pentagon Papers."

ings on the weapons-production program that were scheduled for September 30 by Glenn's Senate Governmental Affairs Committee and Representative Mike Synar's (D-OK) House Government Operations Subcommittee on Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources. These aides told Schneider that an Energy Department employee had given them a 1985 memo in which a DuPont engineer had described thirty serious accidents at the weapons-production reactors at Savannah River. The memo spanned thirty-one years of operation and documented, for the first time publicly, what many reporters and environmental activists had long suspected but could never prove. Embargoed by the committees for the day of their hearing, the memo became both the news and the peg on which the *Times*, and then other national publications, would hang their weapons-production stories. As one reporter at *The New York Times* put it, "Our editors haven't been this psyched about a story since the Pentagon Papers."

Old News?

For the first five days in October, the *Times* was virtually alone in featuring front-page articles on the weapons-production scandal. None of the other publications under review covered the story until October 6, a day on which the *Times* ran two front-page articles. On that day, *The Washington Post* reported on the Energy Department revelations in a page-3 piece by Cass Peterson, who covers the environment and energy. Peterson had written for years about problems at the various weapons plants but was in Houston for the space-shuttle launch in late September when the call came from Glenn's committee offering reporters the memo. Whoever took the call in her absence apparently decided that the DuPont memo, and the Glenn-Synar hearings, could await her return.

Additional national coverage appeared on October 7, when Paulette Thomas of *The Wall Street Journal*, and Alf Siewers of *The Christian Science Monitor* filed reports. Other newspapers also joined in but none provided anything approaching the team coverage offered by the *Times*, which published a total of thirty-six stories

on the weapons-production scandal in October, including twenty that ran on the front page. Keith Schneider produced eighteen of these stories, supported by Wald, Gordon, Fox Butterfield, who writes for the metropolitan desk, and Washington correspondent Kenneth B. Noble. The *Times* continued to emphasize the story in November, when it ran twenty-one pieces, four of them on the front page. And the story continued to receive prominent play well into December.

This sustained effort resulted from a judgment by the editors to commit substantial resources to the issue. National editor Soma Golden made the decision to assign the story to several different reporters. By mid-October, Law Page editor Jonathan Landman was coordinating the work of Schneider, Wald, Butterfield, Gordon, and Noble. Executive editor Max Frankel, who decides each day what stories will run on the front page, was responsible for the stories' prominent placement. In the view of many reporters, in and out of the *Times*, the paper had decided to conduct something rare in contemporary journalism: a "crusade."

By contrast, the coverage provided by other papers was restrained. Some reporters have suggested that professional jealousy partly explained competing newspapers' unwillingness to aggressively track a story that was first published in the *Times*. But the comparative paucity of coverage also appeared to reflect the judgment of some reporters that there was little "news" in the many details that Schneider and his colleagues were producing. "This is old stuff," said a science reporter at one of the national dailies. "Suddenly the *Times* says it's news again."

In fact, many elements of the weapons-production story had already surfaced in a number of publications, including the *Times*, before the DuPont memo triggered that paper's monumental effort. Like chunks of icebergs at sea, pieces that would break in the *Times* in October had been bobbing to the surface for more than a decade. And the story had been building for the past year.

- On September 18, 1987, the *Times*'s Wald had written about problems at Savannah River in an article titled EXPLOSION RISK AT NUCLEAR SITE IS REPORTED HIGH: DUPONT DISPUTES DATA ON PLANT IN CAROLINA. His sources included the Washington-based Environmental Policy Institute, whose chief nuclear researcher, Robert Alvarez, would later join the staff of Senator Glenn's Governmental Affairs Committee.

- On November 17, 1987, Wald pointed to the coming controversy again in a piece on the front page of the "Science Times." Ten weeks later, on February 4, Wald returned to the subject, reporting that Energy Department officials favored closing Hanford's nuclear reactor permanently; it had been shut after the Chernobyl accident in 1986 because of its similarities to the stricken Soviet plant.

- Peterson of the *Post* had focused national attention on a Savannah River accident in two articles published on August 18 and 19, 1988, about a dangerous rise in pressure and temperature that forced the shutdown of the nation's only remaining operating plant. Peterson's

articles were the first in a national newspaper to note that this event meant that the whole weapons-making complex was not functional.

• An influential piece about the poor condition of the nation's weapons-production plants appeared in the August/September 1988 issue of *Technology Review*, which featured a cover story by Alvarez and Arjun Makhijani, both of EPI. In the article, "Hidden Legacy of the Arms Race: Radioactive Waste," the authors used recently published Energy Department data to calculate that "roughly 45 cents of each dollar spent to make bomb-grade material now goes toward managing wastes."

The Tritium Factor

A clue to the *Times's* decision to devote considerable resources to covering this story over a period of months may lie in the judgments offered in its early coverage of the tritium-production issue. The *Times* was the first paper to highlight the national security aspect of the debate. A front-page story published on October 9 titled REACTOR SHUTDOWN COULD IMPEDE NUCLEAR DETERRENT, by Keith Schneider and Michael Gordon, quoted Robert B. Barker, the assistant secretary of defense for atomic energy, as saying that if the Savannah River reactors did not start operating "soon" there would be "very serious consequences for our ability to maintain our nuclear deterrent. Keeping the reactors out of service," Barker continued, "is tantamount to unilateral nuclear disarmament."

Three days later, another piece, by Schneider, appeared, and repeated official warnings about the ability to maintain the integrity of the nuclear deterrent. Citing "Energy Department officials," Schneider reported that "unless the reactors at Savannah River are restarted by next summer, the United States could be forced to start deactivating warheads to recover tritium for use in higher priority weapons."

Apparently recognizing the controversial nature of these early assessments by government officials, Michael Gordon filed a front-page story on October 24 titled STRETCHING GAS FOR NUCLEAR ARMS STUDIED, which seemed to step back a bit from the interpretation presented earlier. "The Pentagon and the Energy Department," Gordon wrote, "have begun studying new ways to extend the tritium supply, should the start of the nation's military reactors, now shut down because of safety considerations, be delayed by political pressure, legal challenges or unforeseen technical problems."

Gordon's more cautious view of the issue was shared by reporters at most of the other newspapers. In a front-page article on October 12, Robert Gillette and John M. Broder of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote that the integrity of the nuclear stockpile could be maintained in the short run without producing new tritium. On October 18 Gillette reported that "federal officials and independent analysts" believed the government had sufficient tritium supplies "to meet current defense needs at least until 1990. . . ." Peterson of the *Post* concurred in a front-page story published on October 12. "Delay in restarting the Savannah River's reactors,"

she reported, "will have no effect on the nation's nuclear deterrent." And on October 20 Peterson questioned the Energy Department's plans to restart the Savannah River reactor, citing the skeptical views of Thomas Cochran, a physicist at the private Natural Resources Defense Council.

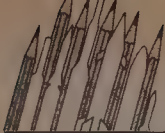
Paulette Thomas weighed in on the tritium question in a *Wall Street Journal* article published on October 12 and in another on October 20, when she cited Energy Department officials who "said sufficient tritium exists for months or years." The paper's editorial-page staff had other ideas, and on November 4 printed a two-column editorial, UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT, which implicitly agreed with the *Times's* stated concern about a possible tritium shortage but nonetheless attacked "melodramatic press coverage, led by the *Times's* Keith Schneider and echoing through *Time* and *Newsweek*." This coverage, and "demagogic statements by Members of Congress," the editorial continued, "have focused the nation's nuclear phobia squarely on the U.S. nuclear-weapons production complex," resulting in the Energy Department's "policy of pre-emptive surrender." The *Journal* editorial warned that "the U.S. nuclear deterrent now faces its most serious threat not from Soviet ICBMs or KGB sabotage or START bargains, but from NEPA, the National Environmental Policy Act." Under NEPA, the paper said, groups like NRDC could sue the Energy Department to prepare environmental impact statements before restarting the tritium-producing reactors, causing a delay of at least two years.

A False Alarm?

While it may be too early to resolve the debate over the seriousness of the tritium shortage, the overall importance of the decay of the nation's nuclear-weapons production facilities is beyond dispute. Peterson of the *Post*, the *Los Angeles Times's* Robert Gillette, and Matthew Wald of *The New York Times* are in some ways the unsung heroes of this saga. Although their reports lacked the national security angle that seemed to be required to capture sustained national press attention, they and a number of other reporters for national and local newspapers have thoroughly documented for many years the severe health hazards faced by nuclear plant workers and citizens who live in areas surrounding the plants.

The New York Times deserves credit for conducting a crusade and lifting the story to national prominence. By pursuing it through the fall and into winter the *Times* helped intensify congressional interest and activity in the area, and may prompt major cleanups and reforms.

What is still unclear, however, is whether initial reporting about the danger to the nation's nuclear arsenal posed by the tritium shortage will prove to have been an overreaction. It remains to be seen whether failing to restart reactors at Savannah River soon will be "tantamount to unilateral nuclear disarmament," as the *Times* quoted a Defense Department official as saying, or whether the tritium gap will, in the end, prove to have been just a national security false alarm. □



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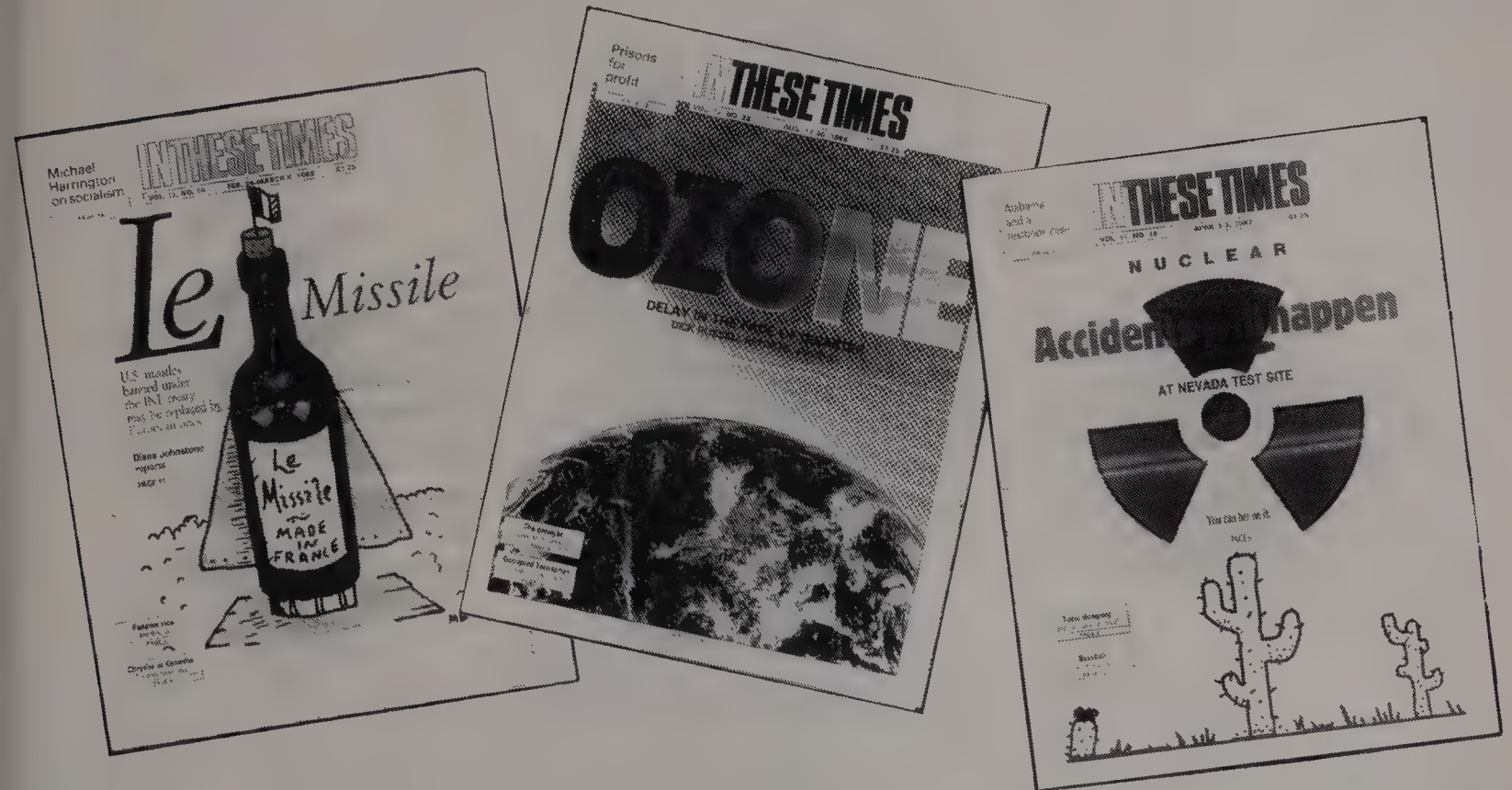
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KNOCK KNOCK

DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSERS ARE THE FOOT SOLDIERS IN THE FIGHT FOR DISARMAMENT

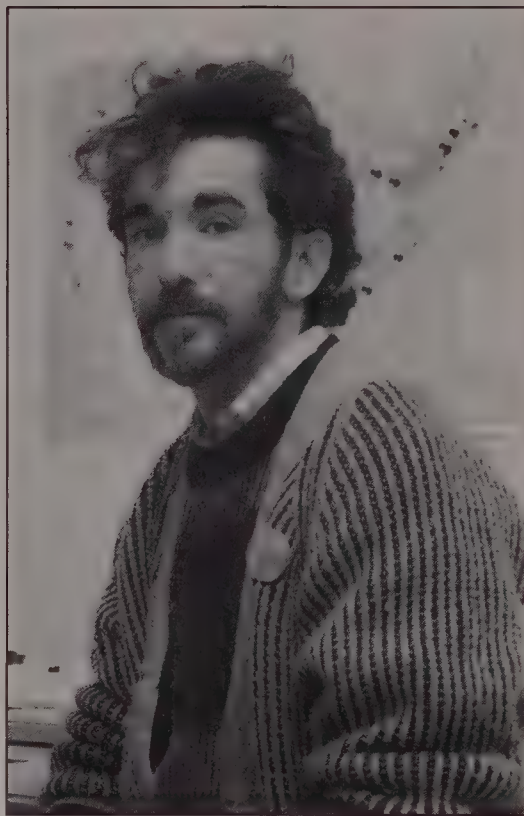
“You’re the third tall, skinny intellectual in glasses to come by in two weeks. Where do you all come from?” the elderly woman asked in bewilderment. It was a mild summer evening and I was following Bob Barber and Judith Gere, two professional door-to-door canvassers for SANE/FREEZE, as they tried to sell their cause to weary liberals and tired housewives in Oakland, California.

Door-to-door canvassing has become a popular way for grassroots groups to raise money and build membership. In fact, it’s become so popular that, as the elderly woman’s remark indicates, Bob and Judith have a problem: they are working the most heavily canvassed territory in the country. The San Francisco Bay area, nationally renowned for nurturing causes other communities revile or ignore, is home to about 25 door-to-door canvasses. In other words, if you stay at home a lot in this neighborhood, someone with a clipboard is going to come knocking on your door at least twice a month to enlist your help to save baby seals, battered women, polluted waterways—or the human race.

Jay Leonhardy, the local SANE/FREEZE canvass director, canvassed for SANE in 16 states before settling down in California. “This community’s pretty unique,” he says. “They’re very canvass-sophisticated, so you have to tell them what makes your canvass stand out.”

Leonhardy trains his canvassers to present SANE/FREEZE as the only national organization with the weight to block the military-industrial complex in Congress. Canvassers stress that SANE/FREEZE is the largest grassroots peace organization in America, and that its lobbying strength will grow with its numbers.

In the halcyon days of the early 1980s, when you could not turn on the television or open the newspaper without hearing about the nuclear freeze and the dangers of the arms race, the peace movement grew like undergrowth in a tropical rain forest—almost without cultivation. In the leaner times of today, with the tide of volunteers and demonstrators ebbing, the methodical consistency of the canvass is crucial to organizational growth and stability.



Jay Leonhardy: Canvassing for the cause.

“The canvass is vital as we move from being a grassroots campaign towards a mass membership organization,” says Alex Forman, regional coordinator for Northern California SANE/FREEZE. “If we can tap into the support that’s out there, we can become an organization with a membership base equal to the Sierra Club, coupled with the power of active local chapters.”

SANE/FREEZE canvassers enroll about 50 people each evening as members in the San Francisco Bay area. Membership contributions of at least \$10 add up to a gross annual revenue of just under \$300,000. This covers the San Francisco office’s canvass expenses and helps subsidize similar programs in other parts of the country. Meanwhile, the growing roster of members builds the organization’s clout on both a local and national level. Nationally, SANE/FREEZE is pushing for a test ban and lobbying to reduce the military budget. Locally, it is trying to shift the obstinate weight of Pete Wilson, the Republican senator who has never seen a weapons system he didn’t like.

A Tough Job. The canvassers’ main adversary in the struggle to build a grassroots

lobby is not the conservative, but the jaded liberal: the supporter who will not join. “I’d like to canvass some of those liberals with a shotgun,” one canvasser muttered to me. Canvassers spend hours exchanging tips and polishing “raps” to get these liberals to open their checkbooks.

Each evening San Francisco SANE/FREEZE sends out about 20 canvassers. Mostly in their late teens and early twenties, they tramp the streets in all kinds of weather in their battered sneakers and worn jeans. Two of them skateboard from door to door. They are a high-spirited group with a strong commitment to peace work, but the job is draining and the pay is low. Few canvassers stay with it for more than a year.

Canvassers keep roughly 40 percent of all the money they raise. Most new canvassers end up taking home about \$180 per week. If they stay longer with the organization their commission increases a little. SANE/FREEZE gives a better benefits package than most canvass organizations: three weeks paid vacation, 10 paid holidays, 10 paid personal days, and full medical coverage. But the bottom line remains: if you don’t raise money at the door, your pay packet is empty.

Back in Oakland. The evening I followed Bob and Judith they were working a middle-class neighborhood in the Oakland flatlands. The colorfully painted shingle houses had manicured lawns, porches with hanging chimes and flowers, and contented cats lolling in their windows. Bob and Judith collected a little money—about \$250—and a lot of excuses.

People with glistening BMWs in their driveways said, “I’m really glad you’re doing this,” but insisted that they couldn’t afford to give money. One man nodded approvingly at the canvasser on his doorstep, then announced, “There’s three minutes left in the basketball game” and shut the door. An elderly man, his gold teeth gleaming in the twilight, insisted he had already contributed to SANE/FREEZE through the National Rifle Association.

Then there are the people who are downright hostile. Even in liberal Oakland some people only open their doors long enough to say, “Why don’t you go and do

his in Russia."

"Every night you meet two people you never want to see again and two people you wouldn't mind seeing socially," says Judith. "You find a few people who are hawks and a few who are doves, but most are os- triches."

Judith is one of the most experienced canvassers in the crew. A 47-year-old former Peace Corps volunteer and Navy chaplain, she has been canvassing for SANE/FREEZE since late 1986. She has a lifelong commitment to peace work and is pleased that she can make a modest living talking to 50 people every evening about nuclear disarmament. The flexible hours of a canvasser also leave her time to write short stories.

Judith has a low-key, housewife-next-door way of talking to people. Bob, who was door-knocking across the street, could hardly be more different. His lanky frame bristles with an intense, restless energy, and his canvassing style seems to have been influenced by a number of Baptist preachers. Only 25 years old, Bob has already been arrested 20 times for civil disobedience at military bases and nuclear power plants across the country.

While many aficionados of civil disobedience refuse to dirty their hands with elec-

toral politics, Bob sees the two as complementary. "I'm basically an anarchist, and I read a lot of anarchist political theory in my spare time," he explains. "I hope one day there will be an anarchist society, though I don't expect to see it in my lifetime. In the meantime I see SANE/FREEZE as the emergency room in a hospital. They're voting on these weapons in Congress right now, and we have to do something about it."

Bob's style at the door is best described as evangelical. "For some people canvassing is just a bag of fund-raising tricks," he says. "I can't do that. Some canvassers say I spend too much time at the door. But I'm not just there trying to get checks. I'm trying to reach people."

One of the people he met this particular evening was a plump middle-aged woman with a heavy Italian accent. Asked how she felt about the arms race, she smiled broadly and said, "I'm indifferent. Really, I don't care." Where most canvassers' shoulders would sag, Bob's interest was piqued. The woman grinned as he tried to persuade her. "A lot of people don't like the arms race," she said, "but there's nothing we can do about it. We're just little people. And you can't get the American people to do anything. They're like horses. They just look straight ahead."

"That's what they want you to think," Bob persisted. The woman kept grinning as Bob kept trying. Maybe she wanted to be persuaded. "Look, how much do you need?" she asked in the end, going for her checkbook. "Good luck!" she called out as Bob strode away with the check. I'm not sure if Bob empowered her or merely wore her down.

At the end of the evening the canvassers crammed into their van and headed back to San Francisco. They were tired, but spirits were high as the canvassers discussed what worked and what didn't. They joked about cruel and unusual people they met that evening. It all started to sound like "Fear and Loathing on the Canvass Trail" as the canvassers reminisced for my benefit about legendary feats of canvass endurance: the canvasser who raised \$2 from a Rastafarian living out of a supermarket cart, the man who wanted the canvasser to take an IQ test before he would donate, the man who refused to give money but invited the canvasser to choose any piece of furniture from his house, and so on.

Tomorrow, it would start all over again.

Hugh Gusterson is an anthropologist studying nuclear weapons scientists and anti-nuclear protesters in California.

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But the new president may soon find himself forced to defend that same multilateralism. "Bush doesn't understand the multilateral implications of some of the things he's endorsed," says Robert Johansen, of Notre Dame University's Institute for International Peace Studies. In particular, the chemical and biological weapons ban Bush has promised to pursue has as its forum the 40-nation U.N. Conference on Disarmament. What's more, "the ironclad verification he wants [requires] setting up a multilateral verification system," says Johansen. "In brief, he doesn't know what he's talking about on multilateral issues. He's sadly out of touch."

Whether Bush will go "unilateral" or "multilateral" is also of concern on the issue of Central America. The region's leaders are attempting to negotiate a mutually acceptable settlement to their conflicts. A Bush administration can either encourage them—heeding Costa Rican President Oscar Arias' advice to withhold military aid from the Nicaraguan contras—or ignore them and further fuel the turmoil. With a Democratically controlled Congress, the latter course is unlikely to win support.

OUT OF THE LOOP?

Unlike many of the charges Bush leveled against Dukakis during the campaign, his claim of more foreign policy experience was justified. Besides his stint at the United Nations, Bush served in the Ford administration as ambassador to China and, later, as director of the Central Intelligence Agency. And as vice president and a member of Reagan's National Security Council, he was—denials notwithstanding—one of the inner foreign policy circle.

Bush's tenure at the CIA is remembered for two developments. He is considered to have restored the company's "morale" following damaging congressional investigations, which had uncovered abuses including secret drug testing, plans to assassinate foreign leaders and domestic spying. He also oversaw the formation of an alternative intelligence "Team B," a group of "outside experts" whose intelligence findings, unlike those of regular CIA staff, supported right-wing claims about the superiority of Soviet military strength. In creating Team B, Bush acquiesced to pressure from conservatives—over the protests of career CIA agents—and produced a bogus data base that provided the rationale for a slowdown in arms control negotiations and,

eventually, the Reagan military buildup.

In none of these posts did Bush exhibit strong foreign policy views—much less a strategic vision—of his own. Instead, he developed a reputation as cooperative and amiable—a "team player." More important, in the case of the CIA, he adopted an approach that would serve him well later as vice president: remaining above the fray and "out of the loop."

This modus operandi—or his claim to it—protected Bush from the political fallout of the worst presidential scandal since Watergate. By claiming to have taken a back seat in foreign-policy making, Bush succeeded in distancing himself from the Iran-contras scandal. The facts may yet come back to haunt him, however. His contention that he only found out the administration had actually traded arms for hostages *more than a month after* the scandal broke in the press is, to say the least, a shaky claim. At worst, he is lying, and evidently failed to oppose an illegal policy that proved a major setback to his administration. At best—if it is true that he knew little of what was going on—the affair says a lot about Bush's leadership abilities.

Bush's appointment of his longtime asso-

(Continued on page 25)



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COMMON SENSE

OPINION SURVEYS SHOW THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS CHANGING ITS VIEWS ON NATIONAL SECURITY

What were voters thinking about last November when they elected George Bush as president? Furloughed murderers? Polluted harbors? The Pledge of Allegiance?

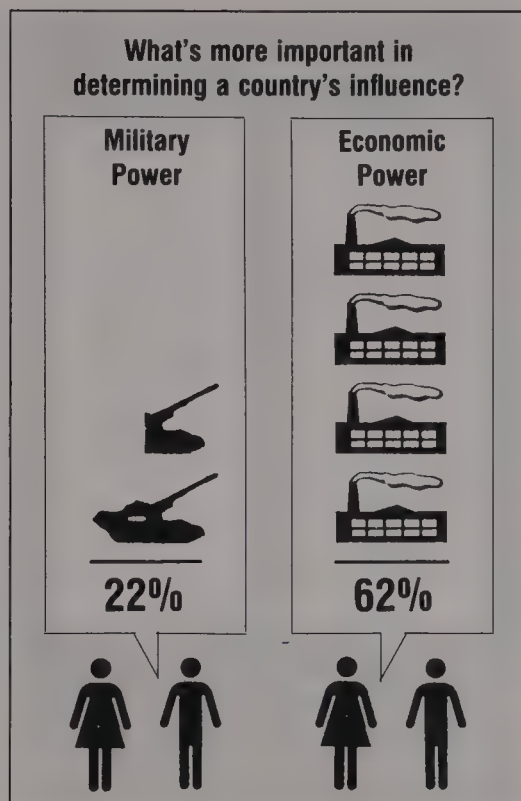
Many pollsters say it was so-called "negatives" like these that did Dukakis in. But voters cared about serious issues, too. According to surveys by Americans Talk Security, concerns about national security issues played a major role in voters' decisions about who should be president.

But more interesting than the fact that voters think about national security, is *what* they think about it. Through 12 public opinion surveys conducted over the past year, Americans Talk Security discovered that the public is developing a new view of national security, one that emphasizes economic strength, downplays military might, and sees some forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union as a good thing. These findings suggest there is a "paradigm shift" toward a popular view of national security that shares some of the peace movement's own ideas about common security.

The brainchild of Alan Kay, a retired Boston businessman, Americans Talk Security was founded to provide feedback from the public to policymakers. Kay believed that a more in-depth examination of voters' views was needed, one that went beyond the narrowly focused "horse race" polling done by campaigns to help candidates win elections. To conduct the surveys, Kay enlisted four firms—Market Opinion Research (Republican), Marttila & Kiley (Democratic), the Daniel Yankelovich Group and the Public Agenda Foundation (both independent)—which over the past year interviewed a total of 12,000 registered voters.

Among the most significant findings of the polls is that, for the first time since World War II, Americans no longer see communism and Soviet aggression as the major threats to the United States. This shift in focus is the result of two factors. One is the emergence of what Americans see as new international threats to their way of life, including drug trafficking, terrorism, nuclear proliferation, economic competition and the trade deficit.

The second factor is the stunning im-



provement in superpower relations that has accompanied the emergence of Mikhail Gorbachev and his reforms. Gorbachev's favorable standing with Americans is unprecedented for a Soviet leader.

New Concerns. For the past six months, Americans have been naming international drug trafficking as their number one national security concern, a problem whose impact has been felt in families, neighborhoods and in the workplace. Next as concerns are nuclear proliferation and terrorism, followed by economic competitiveness and the trade deficit.

These latter worries are of the greatest long-term significance. The United States' difficulties in competing in the world economy have hit Americans in the pocketbook: jobs have been lost and imported goods have become more expensive as the value of the dollar has dropped.

Two out of three voters polled during the past year have said economic power is more important than military power in determining a nation's influence in the world. And despite the fact that the United States has the world's largest economy, only one in five voters believes that the United States is the pre-eminent economic power in the world. A third say we have

less economic power than countries such as Japan and West Germany; 41 percent say we are economic equals. When asked whether Japan and Western Europe's strong economies help or hurt U.S. national security, 55 percent say "hurt" and only 33 percent say "help."

Equally striking is the finding that 56 percent regard economic competitors, such as Japan, as more of a threat than military adversaries, such as the Soviet Union (only 37 percent say the reverse). Does this mean that Japan has replaced the Soviet Union as our main enemy? Not really: when asked directly which country is the greater threat, 63 percent say the Soviet Union. The apparent contradiction suggests that people believe the Soviet Union is today a greater threat than Japan, but that ultimately our economic competitors will be more of a threat than our military adversaries.

Military Spending. Mounting concern about the economy and declining concern about military threats has reinforced a related idea: that military spending hurts the economy. Fifty-five percent of voters believe that it does. But surprisingly, this does not mean that Americans want to slash military spending. Only one in three voters wants to cut the defense budget; just over half (51 percent) want to keep military spending at current levels (and 14 percent favor an increase).

If Americans are more worried about the economy than about military threats, and if they believe military spending hurts the economy, why such reluctance to cut military spending? The answer may lie in what appear to be continuing fears of Soviet military power. Two out of three voters say that the Reagan military buildup was necessary. And nearly one in three thinks the Soviet Union is today stronger militarily than the United States; only 22 percent think the United States is stronger, and 44 percent say the superpowers are even.

But while Americans are not eager to cut military spending, they are increasingly reluctant to spend money defending U.S. military allies that are also our economic competitors. Eighty-six percent agree that "we might seriously damage our economy by spending too much money to defend other countries." And 84 percent believe that

"while we spend billions to defend Japan and Europe, they are winning the economic competition." Eighty percent think "our allies should pay more of the cost of their own defense, even if that means losing influence with them."

Common Security. In contrast to this growing resentment toward military allies who have become economic competitors, attitudes toward the Soviet Union appear to point toward increasing cooperation. Strong majorities of American voters (70 percent and more) support half-a-dozen proposals for cooperative U.S.-Soviet ventures to address such common concerns as international drug trafficking, pollution, terrorism, and the Middle East. In general, voters want U.S.-Soviet relations to continue to improve: 86 percent support a nuclear freeze; 81 percent favor a START agreement to cut strategic forces in half; and 71 percent favor negotiations to eliminate nuclear weapons altogether by the year 2000. On these issues, Americans seem to be ahead of their political leaders.

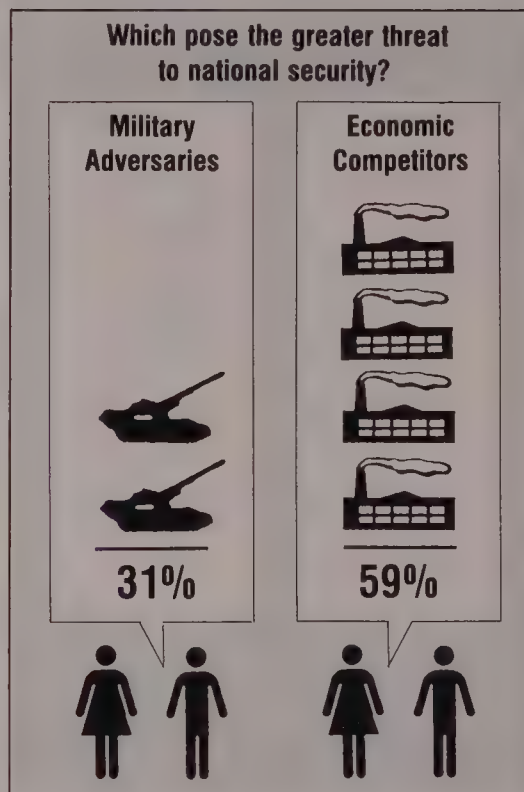
Yet Americans' continuing animosity toward the Soviet Union should not be underestimated. Forty years of mutual hostility and acrimonious competition have left a strong residue of distrust, something the data make clear: 68 percent want to "proceed slowly and cautiously in responding to Gorbachev," while only 28 percent want to "seize the opportunity to respond with boldness."

This lingering distrust suggests that Americans' new views about the Soviet Union are largely a response to Gorbachev himself, and that his success will determine how strongly these new views take hold. If he sends tanks and troops into Armenia to suppress rioting, or if *perestroika* fails and repression increases, the underlying mistrust and animosity that many Americans feel toward the Soviet Union would likely rise to the surface, and the "Soviet threat" move back toward the top of the national security agenda.

Other factors could also affect these new attitudes. For example, while voters currently favor ambitious arms reductions, arms control opponents could cut into that support by taking advantage of the length and difficulty of negotiations to dwell on the many concerns that Americans have expressed about Soviet negotiating tactics and treaty compliance. Agreements on non-military cooperative ventures—which can be concluded more quickly—could provide important momentum while the more difficult nuclear and conventional arms control pacts are negotiated.

Choosing the President. A big surprise in the 1988 presidential election was that na-

tional security issues played a major role in voters' decisions. Americans Talk Security's November survey, taken the weekend before the election, found that probable voters considered national security issues to be virtually equal in importance to economic ones. One-third ranked foreign affairs as "extremely important in deciding which candidate to vote for." Slightly more ranked economic issues (37 percent) and



social issues (34 percent) as extremely important. Fewer said personal qualities (31 percent) and environmental issues (24 percent) were important in their decision.

This voter concern about foreign policy was a factor that strongly favored Bush and seriously hurt Dukakis. A full 40 percent of probable voters believed that Dukakis as president would weaken U.S. national security, while only seven percent believed that Bush would do so. The only major national security position that voters both approved of and associated with Dukakis was that the United States should "pay as much attention to America's economic strength as to its military strength."

It is not surprising that national security issues were an advantage for Bush. In September, approval of President Reagan's handling of foreign policy was running 57 percent (against 33 percent disapproval), and Reagan's ratings on dealing with the Soviets were even higher. Although the public now worries more about other national security threats, U.S.-Soviet relations remains the prism through which the electorate evaluates a candidate's strength as the potential commander-in-chief and negotiator of treaties.

A second factor favoring Bush was that

voters want a strong president who will forcefully represent U.S. interests in the world. Despite concerns about spending money to defend prosperous allies, Americans in other respects remain committed internationalists: 78 percent say the United States should have close political and/or economic involvement with other countries. Michael Dukakis apparently failed to convince them that he would exert U.S. influence and power in the world.

The question remains, however: Could a candidate satisfy voters' desires for a strong America by stressing the connection between economic power and national strength, and the costs of the military burden to the economy? Or, as many Democrats seem to have concluded from the 1988 election, does a candidate need to speak in the traditional terms of military strength to convince voters that he or she will be a strong leader?

Implications. The answer to this question may depend upon how quickly the paradigm shift takes hold. The growing consensus that economic power is the most important aspect of national security has yet to emerge fully as a political force. As long as the U.S. economic crisis remains latent—with voters feeling relatively prosperous—the issue will not come immediately to the fore. But if economic pressures grow—and if U.S.-Soviet relations continue to improve—Americans could force burden sharing and military budget cuts to the top of the national security agenda.

Those who would encourage this change in focus have an opportunity. The international landscape is changing quickly, and as a result Americans are more disposed to consider new ideas. An overwhelming 88 percent agree that "weapons reduction is not enough; we should seek political as well as military agreements with the Soviets so they don't feel threatened by us and we don't feel threatened by them."

"Common security" is not an idea Americans are familiar with: only 30 percent have heard of the term. But voters' views about national security are beginning to echo common-security themes and may herald a change in popular opinion that peace activists will welcome and policymakers may soon have to heed. □

Mark Niedergang is associate director of the coordinating office of Americans Talk Security. The views expressed here are his own. Detailed reports about voters' attitudes on Central America, U.S. foreign aid programs, military spending and many other issues are available from Americans Talk Security, 83 Church St. #17, Winchester, MA 01890, (617) 721-0266.

ANTI-NUCLEAR FAMILIES

BARBARA EPSTEIN SAYS COMMUNITY AND DEMOCRACY ARE LEGACIES OF DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENTS



Abalone Alliance activists: Exorcising the devil at the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant.

Barbara Epstein found a community in jail. In June 1983, Epstein, a history professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz, was arrested and incarcerated along with 1,000 other people for blocking a road during a nonviolent action at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, a nuclear weapons research facility near Oakland, California. On that occasion, the anti-nuclear protesters spent 11 days in a makeshift jail next to Santa Rita Prison.

Epstein recalls that she "was impressed with the style of the movement" and decided then that it "seemed worth writing about." So she pressed her scholarly skills into the movement's service and began researching the Livermore Action Group (LAG) and its direct action predecessors: the Clamshell Alliance and the Abalone Alliance. The result of her work is a detailed assessment of the comings and goings, the strengths and weaknesses of contemporary direct action movements.

All three movements grew rapidly, achieved some dramatic political success and then faded away. But Epstein believes that they left a legacy behind: They built communities of people who share a commitment to direct democracy.

Anti-nuclear, Pro-community. On the surface, the groups Epstein studied are against

things nuclear. The two mollusk alliances opposed construction of nuclear power plants in New Hampshire and California, while LAG opposed development of nuclear weapons at the University of California's Livermore Lab. None of them achieved their political objectives, though they made completion of the two nuclear power plants more difficult and dramatically raised public awareness about the hazards of nuclear power and the danger of nuclear weapons. But this, Epstein believes, was not their only political contribution. "This movement is not simply about particular nuclear issues, but about building community, which is a legitimate political aim." While superficially anti-nuclear, deeper down, they were pro-community.

"Everyone knows that this society destroys community bonds," Epstein argues. "This part of the movement is trying to reconstruct what is destroyed. They are trying to *figure out* what kind of society we want in the future." She says that this kind of politics is "prefigurative"—an attempt to create now the kind of community and democracy people want in the future.

This is an extremely difficult project, Epstein says, because the movement that is trying to build community "does not have any natural constituency or geographical community base to build on. It isn't lo-

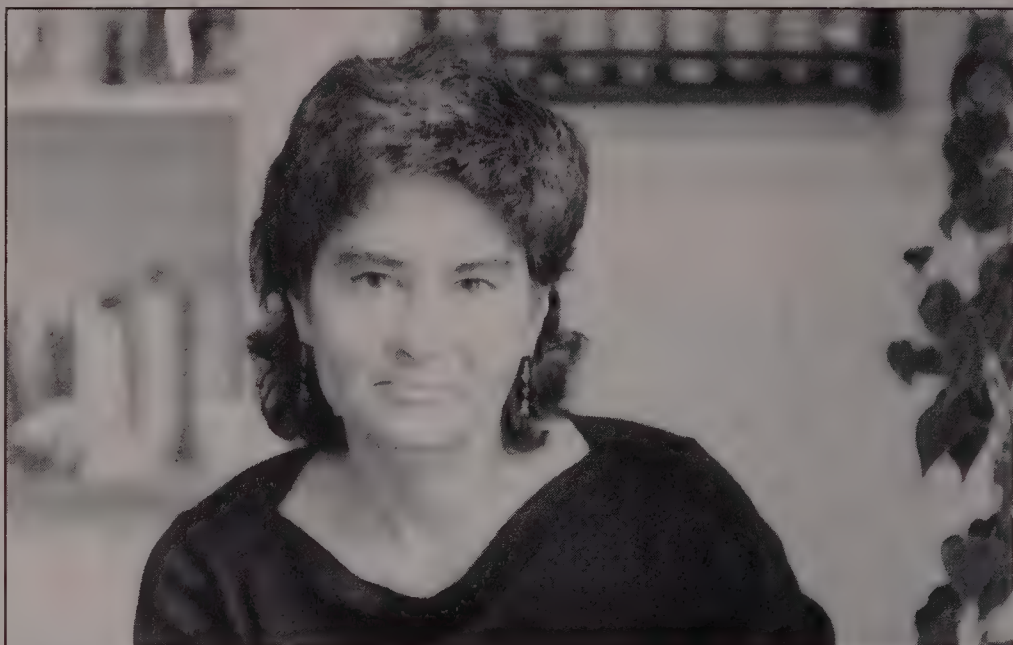
cated anywhere." By contrast, movements in the 1930s were located in immigrant communities, and nearby factories were the focus of political activity. In the 1960s, protest was based in black communities or in college towns and universities. "Without this kind of base, movements have problems," she says. As a consequence, "We either have to find a community where the movement can find a home, or we have to take the task of building a community much more seriously."

This is what direct action movements have attempted to do, in jail, in encampments, through protest. Participation in the movement requires training, assembling and debating political issues in small-scale "affinity" groups, which are household-size groups, and in larger alliances, which resemble small villages that hold town meetings.

During her on-the-scene research, Epstein also discovered that many of the participants were drawn from what she describes as "Pagan" communities. There were "huge numbers of people who described themselves as Pagans," she says. Pagans and witches were a "major religious influence within LAG," Epstein writes. (They were less influential though still present in Clamshell and Abalone Alliances.) "During major actions, various Pagan affinity groups came together in a cluster called the Web. Within this cluster, Matrix, the affinity group of witches (including men as well as women) played a particularly prominent role."

Although they have no single religious dogma and only occasionally establish formal religious organizations, such as the Church of the Goddess, Epstein says Pagans share "a reverence for life and nature, a certain playfulness and a sense of humor." Many Pagans, she says, distinguish their religious beliefs from Christians' by saying, "Christians fast; Pagans feast."

Epstein identifies three social groups out of which Paganism has emerged: "One is the cultural wing of the women's movement. Many American feminists were drawn to religion but could not bring themselves to be part of any conventional churches, with their hierarchical organization and devotion to an all-powerful male



Barbara Epstein: You can't understand a movement unless you're part of it.

UP CLOSE AND PERSONAL

Barbara Epstein is no armchair academic. She does not conduct her research as a detached critic, but as a participant-observer on the frontlines. She says that her "role is harder but more interesting" than collecting information from books and after-the-fact interviews. "You could do some interviews and run home and write them up, but you wouldn't know what you were talking about," she says. "You can't understand a contemporary movement unless you're part of it."

Epstein believes many sedentary scholars are ill equipped to understand contemporary movements because they bring intellectual prejudices to their work. Many of the social scientists who study social movements are veterans of the 1960s (as is she) who have a "deep prejudice against spirituality." Since spirituality is an important component of Clamshell, Abalone, and LAG, they find these movements hard to understand. "In the 1960s, secular values had more sway for the participants than it had in most other movements in U.S. history," she argues. This secular experience shapes scholars' views of spiritually minded movements. Contemporary movements that are concerned with the survival of the species, of the planet, ask wider, spiritual questions about the meaning of life than do secular political movements. Epstein thinks these spiritual issues "should not be sneezed at" by academics.

A second commonly held intellectual prejudice, Epstein argues, "is against unorthodox views of spirituality. Catholic nuns and Jewish activists are fine, but academics don't want to have anything to do with Pagans and witches." She says this prejudice is a product of Christian-dominated society.

There is also a current of anti-intellectualism in the movement, which puts off social scientists who might otherwise study it. "There are a lot of non-academic people who have experienced the intellectual arena as a place where they have been pushed around. Many believe that too much attention is paid to the mind, not enough to feelings," Epstein says.

The combination of academic prejudices and movement anti-intellectualism makes it difficult for outsiders to understand the workings of direct action movements. As Epstein says, "If you're in academia, it's hard to be part of a movement like this. Can you imagine what your colleagues would think if you started talking about Pagans and witches?" she asks rhetorically. "My academic friends have been shocked by the proliferation of Paganism and witchcraft."

To understand people who participate in LAG, but also in the Greenham Common and Seneca Army Depot encampments or the American Peace Test, Epstein believes one has to take "new forms of spirituality seriously." —R.S.

God." She says members of counter cultural communities in rural and urban communes and collective houses have adopted Pagan beliefs, as have many adherents of "New Age" philosophy.

From these different wellsprings, Pagan "constructed an eclectic spiritual tradition." Epstein says that pre-Christian, Native American and Asian religious traditions have been reworked into a "environmental and feminist orientation." The 'constructed' nature of the religion doesn't bother them. And the concept of absolute truth is more or less absent."

Successes and Failures. Direct action movements believe that their prefigurative communities, assembled around particular issues, should practice "meaningful" democracy. In concrete terms, this means conducting nonviolent direct action, reaching agreement by consensus and developing a non-hierarchical organization that is open to all comers.

After reviewing the history and experience of three direct action groups, Epstein concludes that the commitment to nonviolent action, consensus decision making and non-hierarchical organization helped build community, but also contributed to the fragility of the movement.

According to Epstein, nonviolent direct action successfully mobilized large numbers of people and made a substantial impact on public and media perceptions about nuclear issues. But successful actions were difficult to repeat, in part because the pool of people willing to commit nonviolent action and subject themselves to arrest was limited, in part because it was difficult to "escalate" the militancy of subsequent actions, except by increasing the number of participants. Increasingly militant actions would have driven away people committed to nonviolence, and the repetition of the same action with the same numbers of people would be anticlimactic. By making a virtue of one form of protest it was difficult to develop alternative forms. "The result," Epstein writes, "was that the Clamshell and Abalone Alliances declined rapidly after those moments of greatest success."

The use of consensus decision making also had advantages and disadvantages though Epstein thinks the former outweighed the latter. "I think the use of consensus is a first step towards a genuine democratic process," she says.

Consensus decision making underwent substantial changes during the course of political practice. These changes improved its ability to deal with problems that emerged in the early stages of movement development.



usted: A LAG activist blocking the road.

According to Epstein, consensus decision making "creates strong bonds within the movement and helps keep it egalitarian. It ensures that everyone will participate and be heard." Because the process "insists on participation," it is hard for participants to be passive—or aggressive. Epstein says it tends to break down factionalism. "In practice, people who are part of a sectarian group find it hard to function as a sect. They get disoriented. People who might be disruptive find it difficult to do so. Something happens when you take people seriously. Consensus draws on the better side of everyone who's participating, so it undercuts factional disruptiveness and individual craziness."

"At its best," she argues, "consensus decision making is sensitive to ongoing differences and leaves room for people to differ. If you disagree, you can either 'stand aside' (a term the Quakers use for people who want to oppose but not block decision) or block decisions."

One problem with consensus is that it takes a lot of time. "There are moments when you need quick decisions," Epstein says. "The process gives room to people who want to take up everybody's time. And it is weighted toward people who *have* time to spend." She says this can lead to a kind of moralism: "Why *don't* you have six hours to talk about this question?"

The consensus process was considerably modified by the Abalone Alliance during its lifespan. The alliance, which was made up of affiliated affinity groups, spent considerable time modifying consensus decision making—particularly the right of individuals to block a decision that was generally supported—as it grew from a small local group into a large, statewide

organization. Epstein recounts that decision making became increasingly difficult as the alliance grew. By the summer of 1981, "the organization was in danger of being paralyzed." So a committee was formed that made a number of proposals to modify the process. It proposed that individuals could no longer block consensus at a statewide meeting—"only member groups could, and only then if the group reached consensus internally to block a particular proposal"—and distinguished between "enthusiastic" consensus (a decision backed by every group) and "lukewarm" consensus (backed by two-thirds of the groups and not blocked by any). These proposals were then ratified by a 100 percent consensus of all the groups and adopted. This made it easier for the alliance to move forward.

Although committed to creating non-hierarchical organizations, direct action movements had difficulty realizing this objective. Typically an "informal" leadership emerged. Because this leadership was not recognized by the participants as legitimate, and was frequently the subject of anti-leadership hostility, it became "hard to draw new people into the leadership as the original leaders burned out." According to Epstein, when the first generation of informal leaders tired, the organizations fell apart.

The Clamshell and Abalone Alliances and the Livermore Action Group have all come and gone. The political activity they harnessed and the issues they advanced have evaporated. "But when they depart from the scene," Epstein says, "they leave behind residual layers of community and culture."

The networks of people created by these movements don't disappear, Epstein argues. Instead, "communities of religious people—Christian and Pagan—stay in touch with each other," she says. "These communities have an ongoing life and constitute a reservoir of people committed to the principles of the movement."

"Departing movements also leave ideas behind in their wake," Epstein says. "And when a new movement based on these communities emerges and takes up similar issues, nonviolence and consensus decision making will almost automatically be a part of it." □

This article is based on an interview with Dr. Epstein, on an article she wrote, "The Politics of Prefigurative Community: The Nonviolent Direct Action Movement," which appears in Reshaping the U.S. Left (Verso, 1988) edited by Mike Davis, and on the draft of a book-length manuscript that examines these three movements.

BUSH/Continued from page 20

ciate and presidential campaign chairman, James Baker, as secretary of state has been welcomed as a sign that the new administration's foreign policy will be pragmatic and moderate. As a former Treasury secretary, Baker is at least likely to acknowledge the importance of economics to foreign policy, and he has shown himself to be, in trade and monetary policy, to some extent a multilateralist. Brent Scowcroft, Bush's choice for National Security Adviser, is also a moderate, generally pro-arms control and has been a critic of Star Wars.

The president-elect, however, so far has little to recommend himself as the man to lead this country into a new era of international relations. For the peace movement, Bush's failings could mean an opening: public sentiment, if properly mobilized and sufficiently focused, could succeed in pressuring a Bush administration toward more progressive foreign policy.

But it is arguable that the opportunities that exist—for cementing detente, ending the arms race and making the United States a force for a better world—require a national leader with courage, independence and vision. Our new president would have us believe he is that leader. But if Bush thinks "the jury is still out" on Gorbachev, the jury is still way out on Bush. □

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CHINA'S BOMB

NO SACRIFICE WAS TOO GREAT WHEN IT CAME TO BUILDING THE ATOMIC BOMB

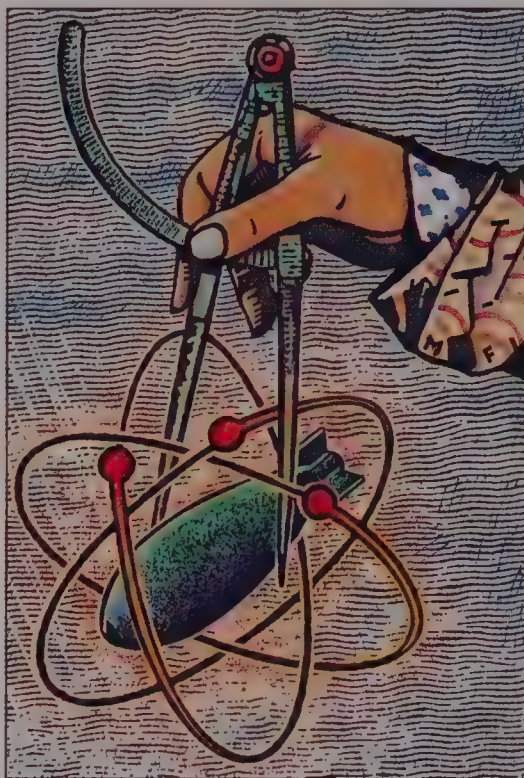
China Builds the Bomb by John W. Lewis and Xue Litai (\$29.50, 329 pages, Stanford University Press, 1988).

Pakistani leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto once said, "If India gets the bomb, we will eat leaves and grass to do the same." For many countries, no sacrifice is too great when it comes to acquiring nuclear weapons. John Lewis and Xue Litai's new book—the first to provide a vivid, detailed account of the Chinese nuclear weapons program—illustrates this point.

In the decade after 1954, when the Chinese communist government was struggling to feed its population and break free from the grip of Third World poverty and backward industrial development, its leadership embarked on an all-out effort to develop the atomic bomb. This difficult scientific-industrial project, code-named "02," placed extraordinary demands on scarce human, economic and natural resources.

When harvests failed for three straight years between 1959 and 1961, physicists and technicians working on the bomb suffered from dropsy, a condition related to hunger. At the Lop Nur base, according to Lewis and Xue, personnel "resorted to eating elm leaves and foraging for wild plants." Party officials urged workers to hunt antelope to supply meat. To spur greater effort, the head of the uranium purification plant promised everyone "a catty of tinned pork" if construction work was completed on schedule. And despite the strains placed on people and the budget, Foreign Affairs Minister Chen Yi said in 1961 that the strategic weapons program should continue "even if the Chinese [have] to pawn their trousers for this purpose."

Lacking a sophisticated industrial infrastructure, the Chinese used rudimentary, seat-of-the-pants methods to build the bomb. Thousands of peasants combed the countryside for uranium ore, which they dug out by hand. One official sent out to collect the mined yellowcake ore found it stored in stalls at a village market. The head of the group developing the detonator for the bomb mixed high explosives in used army buckets over an open fire on the test range. And when the bomb was transferred



to the test site, "two purplish-red long sofas" were used to cushion it.

The Chinese exploded a bomb on October 16, 1964. Given the circumstances, it was, in the parlance of the day, a Great Leap Forward. The Chinese managed to build a bomb because they were determined to do so no matter what the social or economic cost (sloppy workplaces unnecessarily exposed many to radiation poisoning) and because they obtained enough information from U.S.- and Soviet-trained Chinese scientists (one head of the program studied at Cal Tech) to figure out the best way to do it on the cheap. As Premier Zhou Enlai said, "*Shao huaqian, duo banshi*" ("Spend less, get more").

Lewis and Xue explain how the Chinese got the bomb. But they also explain why they pawned their pants to build it.

China sought to acquire nuclear weapons because they felt threatened by the United States and betrayed by the Soviet Union. The United States repeatedly threatened to use nuclear weapons against China during the Korean War and Quemoy-Matsu crises. President Eisenhower even suggested that "atomic weapons could be used tactically in Asia without massacring civilians" and said he hoped his public statements "would have some effect in per-

suading the Chinese communists of the strength of our determination."

Eisenhower's threats did have an effect, though not the intended one. U.S. threats strengthened Chinese determination to acquire the bomb. As Mao Zedong wrote in 1956, "If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the bomb."

The Soviets also increased China's desire to develop the bomb. The Soviets initially provided technical assistance and even promised to deliver a prototype. But as relations soured during the 1950s, leading to a break in 1958, the Soviets reneged and refused to counter U.S. nuclear threats against China. In 1959, the Soviets sided with India against China in a border dispute, and Khrushchev called China a "bellie-cose cock."

Having been threatened and betrayed by the Chinese leadership in 1963 concluded "It is absolutely impermissible for two or three countries to brandish their nuclear weapons at will . . . as self-ordained nuclear overlords, while the overwhelming majority of countries are expected to kneel down and obey orders meekly, as if they were nuclear slaves."

Both superpowers, each in its own way contributed to nuclear proliferation in China. And the Chinese experience would be shared by others who, having been threatened or betrayed, would eat grass to acquire the bomb. India, Pakistan, France and Israel would all develop nuclear weapons for many of the same reasons.

Lewis and Xue provide an excellent account of this process in China. At times, however, they treat Project 02 as a heroic effort, a modern attempt to build the pyramids. It is common in histories of the Manhattan Project to describe it as a noble against-all-odds struggle. One is swept away by the dedication, enthusiasm and gritty determination displayed by physicist heroes and technician drones. Unfortunately, the Manhattan Project and Project 02, like the Egyptian pyramids, were magnificently dubious undertakings. In these projects, enormous effort was devoted to building a tomb, one for the pharaoh, the others for mankind. It is hard to celebrate any of them.

NETWORK

ORGANIZATION NEWS & COMMENT

SANE/FREEZE

Don't Agonize, Organize

Mother Jones said it best nearly 100 years ago: "Don't mourn, organize." SANE/FREEZE's reaction to the election of George Bush and Dan Quayle is the same: We will not stand idly by and allow the Bush administration to continue the Reagan agenda of aid for the contra terrorists in Nicaragua, development of first-strike nuclear weapons and the escalation of the arms race into outer space.

SANE/FREEZE is joining a coalition of other peace and disarmament organizations to sponsor the "Inaugurate Peace" Campaign. In cooperation with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, and other groups, SANE/FREEZE will sponsor an Inaugurate Peace program of grassroots action to demand an immediate halt to the arms race. We will greet the new administration and Congress with petitions, grassroots lobbying, local resolutions, demonstrations and rallies—all demanding immediate action for peace and nuclear disarmament.

The campaign will begin with a week of action in January under the theme, "Inaugurate Peace: Fulfill the Dream." From January 14, the beginning of the Martin Luther King holiday weekend, through January 20, Inauguration Day, we will sponsor grassroots peace activities linking the demand for social justice with the call for reversal of the arms race. Local peace groups will be encouraged to participate in their communities' Martin Luther King Day observances and to initiate their own activities on Inauguration Day. They will also be asked to launch petition drives and local government resolution campaigns.

A nationwide petition drive will be one of the central features of the Inaugurate Peace Campaign. We hope to collect as many as 1 million signatures by the spring of 1989—at the conclusion of the new administration's first 100 days in office. The petition includes several demands:

1. Cut arms spending and convert the economy from military to civilian priorities;

■ Declare an immediate halt to nuclear testing and negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty;

■ Follow up on the INF Treaty with reductions in conventional arms and a 50 percent cut in strategic nuclear weapons;

■ Halt all military and war-related aid to Central America.

These petitions will be delivered to the White House and Congress at a public gathering in Washington in May.

Having Bush and Quayle in the White House means our work is cut out for us, but there is also reason to be hopeful. The elections produced a slight improvement in both houses of Congress, and voters clearly gave no mandate for militarism to the new administration. If the peace movement succeeded in moving the arch-conservative Ronald Reagan toward arms control, surely we can push the Bush administration toward arms reduction as well.

The Inaugurate Peace Campaign is the first salvo of a long-term effort to put pressure on the new administration. Peace activists throughout the country should join in this national effort to achieve disarmament and peace with justice.

For more information on the Inaugurate Peace Campaign, contact SANE/FREEZE at 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100.

ESR

New Help for Teaching About the Soviet Union

ESR has just released a new ground-breaking curriculum guide, *Thinking About the Soviet Union*, by George Perkovich. Aimed at high school and college students, the curriculum explores the Soviet government and economy, the nature of communism, human rights, *glasnost* and *perestroika*, and different American schools of thought about the Soviet Union. It asks students to analyze political cartoons, media reports, philosophical and political writings, and government documents to achieve a new understanding of the Soviet Union and the Cold War. Drawing on a broad range of perspectives—both U.S. and Soviet—it employs throughout ESR's pedagogical em-

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Speakers: Mahmoud M. Ayoub, Ph.D.; Morris Berman, Ph.D.; Daniel Coleman, Ph.D.; Paulos Mar Gregorios, Ph.D.; John S. Hagelin, Ph.D.; Ursula King, Ph.D.; Pepin Hernandez-Laos; George Leonard; Ilya Prigogine, Ph.D.; Andrew Bard Schmockler, Ph.D.; and Lyall Watson, Ph.D.

Write or call for more information about Isthmus and the Conference. Registration deadline is April 1, 1989 (conference discounts apply through February 5).



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phasis on dialog, critical thinking and informed decision-making.

Author George Perkovich is a long-time member of ESR and a fellow at the World Policy Institute, and holds a master's degree in Soviet Studies from Harvard University. *Thinking About the Soviet Union*, which was two years in the making, drew heavily on ESR's Soviet Education Project, directed by Roberta Snow.

New York Metro/ESR will host a day-long conference in late January on teaching about the Soviet Union. Co-sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association, the conference is a response to a recently passed state requirement that New York high schools offer comprehensive education about the Soviet Union.

Although teachers were free to squeeze in Soviet studies prior to this new ruling, the new guidelines mean that "every tenth-grade global studies class will spend about six weeks on the Soviet Union," says Alan Shapiro, NY Metro/ESR's Soviet education project director. And the New York Regent's Exam, the statewide achievement test, will now include questions about the Soviet Union.

NY Metro/ESR's conference will offer a variety of workshops, speakers and exhibits to help New York City and suburban teachers integrate new materials into their classes. Workshop leaders will come from ESR's U.S.-Soviet program; most will have attended an ESR U.S.-Soviet Institute. Materials to be included are published by both ESR and the Foreign Policy Association.

For details on the New York conference, call (212) 666-0056. To order *Thinking About the Soviet Union*, send \$27.50 (\$24.75 for ESR members) to Educators for Social Responsibility, Dept. NT, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138. Or call for information on bulk-order discounts: (617) 492-1764.

ADPSR

Nascent Chapter in Florida

If signatures on sign-up sheets meant members ready for action, we'd be rocking central Florida with a "Build Homes—Not Bombs" campaign. As it is, we in ADPSR's newly formed Florida affiliate are off to a modest—but hopefully solid—start.

The idea of an ADPSR Florida Chapter originated in the spring of 1987, during the American Planning Association (APA) national conference in New York. Bruce Hossfield, a city planner from Orlando, attended an ADPSR seminar at the conference, signed up as a new ADPSR member and carried a pile of ADPSR brochures

back home to Orlando. Two months later, the American Institute of Architects held their national conference in Orlando, and Hossfield passed around his own ADPSR sign-up list for Floridians.

Our first group effort was to have Ian McHarg speak at an ADPSR seminar at the APA Florida state conference in the fall of 1987. The event was well attended and yielded another impressive sign-up sheet.

Unfortunately, long sign-up lists have not translated into active membership, despite numerous mailings. Our chapter remains a group of 12 to 15 truly active members, most of whom are city planners.

Our recent organizing efforts have been around the "Build Homes—Not Bombs" theme of the national Jobs with Peace campaign, and have been concentrated on activities for the upcoming APA Florida state conference. We managed to get a local building-materials store to donate the materials necessary to build a "symbolic house" at a neighborhood Fun Day event.

For fund raising, we recently arranged with a popular (and socially responsible) local rock band to do a benefit dance. Though we drew a respectable crowd, we didn't actually make much money. Still, we had a great time, got a number of membership inquiries, and were written up in the *Orlando Sentinel* as "the start of the social season for the alternative set."

For information on affiliation with national Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility, contact: ADPSR, 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 334-8104.

WAND

Time to Plan for Mother's Day

What do SANE/FREEZE, Greenpeace, the Gray Panthers and Mothers Against Child Abuse have in common? They all endorsed last year's "Mums for Moms: Mothers Day for Peace," sponsored by Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament Education Fund. Each year, WAND promotes an observance of Mother's Day in line with the intentions of founder Julia Ward Howe, who, in the 19th century, established the day as an occasion when everyone, especially women, should rededicate themselves to the task of bringing about world peace. WAND's Mother's Day for Peace provides a means of local organizing and recruitment, and serves as a nonpolitical reminder of the horrors of war and the necessity for building a peaceful future. It's not too early to start organizing for next May, and last year's experiences provide some examples of what can be achieved.

The 1988 campaign was endorsed by a broad coalition of more than 40 peace, social justice and environmental organizations. Local groups around the country responded with a variety of events that tied in with the Mums for Moms campaign. More than 1,000 people attended Ann Arbor (Michigan) WAND's fourth annual Festival of Peace picnic, at which awards were presented to two local women activists. For the fifth consecutive year, Buffalo (New York) WAND produced and sold small bouquets of silk flowers with an attached card introducing WAND and its local peace work. Other events included Denver WAND's film festival (which included a panel discussion) and Orange County (California) WAND's fifth annual Children's Peace Bell Ceremony.

The campaign was supported by an aggressive national television drive featuring Susan Clark, Jane Alexander, Judy Collins, Helen Caldicott and Margarita Papanicreou. The television appearances—some broadcast via satellite—were a great success, reaching more than 40 cities in the United States and Canada and relaying the message of peace to 13 million people.

This year WAND seeks to broaden support for the campaign and to expand the media drive to Mexico and Europe, reaching 80 cities and 30 million people. Participating is simple: groups will engage their communities in honoring the original meaning of Mother's Day by asking people to wear a flower as a symbol of their support for a world without war. Mother's Day "Action Kits" give concrete tips on reaching local media, tapping into the satellite network, fundraising and more.

For information, contact Andrea Downs, WAND Education Fund, 691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174, (617) 643-6740.

PSR

Militarism's Social Costs

"Let's turn 1,000 points of light into a glaring beam," said Christina Walker, executive director of the New York City Food and Hunger Hotline, addressing the "Conference on Militarism and Human Services: The Impact on Hunger, Homelessness, and Health Care," in New York. It was not a plea for the kind of private-sector voluntarism touted by George Bush during his presidential campaign. Instead, Walker was calling on conference participants to work together to shed light on the enormous social costs of the greatest peace-time military buildup in this country's history.

Sponsored by PSR's Mid-Atlantic chap-

ers and the Center for Psychosocial Issues in the Nuclear Age, the mid-October conference drew nearly 200 participants. They included members of groups who do not ordinarily work together on arms control: health care professionals, social workers, university administrators, government officials, religious leaders, and activists working on such issues as peace, hunger, homelessness and AIDS. But their common interests were precisely what the conference sought to highlight.

Speakers included Dr. Harris Peck, director of the Center for Psychosocial Issues, Dr. Victor Sidel and Dr. H. Jack Geiger, both past presidents of PSR, and Dr. Stanley E. Harris, assistant vice president of Ambulatory Care Services, Health and Hospitals Corporation of New York. Among the startling facts they cited:

■ Every two seconds a child dies of a preventable illness, while the governments of the world spend more than \$60,000 on arms.

■ More money is spent on U.S. military R&D every 20 months than has ever been spent by the National Institute of Health.

■ Median family income in the United States is the same now as in 1973, despite the fact that many families now have a second income.

■ Half of all black children in America live in poverty.

America's "national security" is ill served, said Geiger, when public well-being is sacrificed to fund weapons. "National security means a healthy and productive workforce," he said, "It means families with enough income for a home, food and education. National security is our children, because our children are our future."

In workshops covering such topics as AIDS, racism and ethnicity, the deterioration of medical and health services, homelessness and affordable housing, and psychosocial well-being, participants discussed the effects of militarism on their own areas of interest. Each group developed a list of possible actions, which they presented at the close of the conference.

Evaluating the conference, Peck said, "I believe it contributed a sense of empowerment to its participants, including members of vulnerable minorities, the poor, health professionals and other service providers, by providing a forum in which plans of action were developed. And it brought together a broad-based network of constituencies capable of working together to bring about change."

For information, contact Physicians for Social Responsibility at the new address: 1000 16th St. NW, #810, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 785-3777.

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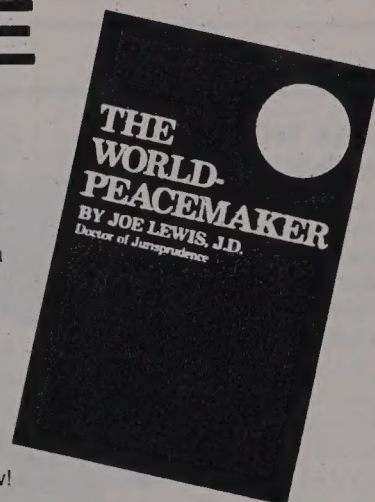
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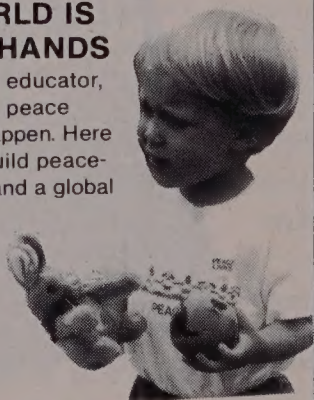


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CALENDAR

January

13 to 1/16, Atlanta, Georgia. The Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change will sponsor the "Conference for Non-Violent Social Change." Speakers: Coretta Scott King and Andrew Young. *Contact:* (404) 526-8936.

14 to 1/20, Nationwide. "Inaugurate Peace: Fulfill the Dream," is the theme for a week of grassroots action aimed at halting the arms race. The campaign, sponsored by SANE/FREEZE, WILPF, AFSC and Mobilization for Survival, is sponsoring a nationwide petition drive. The petition will be presented to Bush after his first 100 days in office. *Contact:* Elizabeth Lewis (202) 46-7100 X42.

Los Angeles. Physicians for Social Responsibility will hold its annual Pacific regional meeting. PSR plans workshops, skills training and seminars on national security issues. *Contact:* Cynthia Newcomer (202) 785-3777.

15 to 1/28, Florida. The Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice, in cooperation with other peace groups, will sponsor a peace pilgrimage from the Pratt-Whitney plant in West Palm Beach to the Kennedy Space Center. Edgar Mitchell, the fourth astronaut on the moon, will be the keynote speaker at the event. *Contact:* FCPJ at (407) 422-3479.

16 Groton, Connecticut. The Coalition to Stop Trident 3 will sponsor protest actions at the submarine base and elsewhere. *Contact:* (203) 789-1932.

Martin Luther King Day observed. Born January 15, 1929.)

17 to 1/19, Melbourne, Florida. William Colby will discuss current and future prospects for arms control. *Contact:* Gordon Patterson (407) 768-8000 X7382.

21 and 28, San Jose, California. Pax Christi USA will sponsor leadership training workshops. *Contact:* Pax Christi (814) 453-4955.

30 to 3/17, Nationwide. PBS will broadcast *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age*, a weekly series produced by the Annenberg/CPB Project. The 13-part documentary was designed to be part of a telecourse that can be taken for college credit. For information on



German children greet U.S. supply plane during the 1948-49 Soviet blockade of Berlin. Episode two of "War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," which airs on PBS, beginning January 30 at 8 p.m. Check local listings.

how to take the course, *contact:* 1-800-LEARNER. For general series information, *contact:* Betty Travis, (212) 315-8000.

February

7 to 2/26, Princeton, New Jersey. "Sarcophagus," by Soviet playwright Vladimir Gubaryez, is a highly critical account of the tragic nuclear disaster at Chernobyl. Gubaryez, the first reporter on the site of the accident, will be present at the opening. *Contact:* Dan Bauer (609) 683-9100.

Boston. Educators for Social Responsibility will begin holding its "Professional Development Series," five one-day seminars on such topics as "Dealing with Difficult People," "Establishing School Mediation Programs" and "Teaching Tough Topics in Science." *Contact:* ESR (617) 643-4880.

8 to 2/11, Eugene, Oregon. The Fourth International Conference of Nuclear Free Zone Local Authorities will focus on the nuclear-free-zone concept. Georgi Arbatov of the Soviet Union and Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) will participate in a forum on East/West Policy. *Contact:* (503) 683-1802.

11 to 2/12, Knoxville. The Knoxville Symposium on Peace (planned by the Leaves of Peace Interfaith Council) features the Rev. William Sloane Coffin as keynote speaker. Events also include panel presentations on "Peace within the Self and Family," "Stewardship of the Earth" and "Peace Between Religious Traditions." *Contact:* Pamela Bradley (615) 584-9543.

24 to 2/26, Washington, D.C. SANE/FREEZE will sponsor a conference called "Common Security through Structures for Peace Convocation." Speakers include Rev. William Sloane Coffin and keynote speaker Norman Cousins, president of the World Federalist Association. *Contact:* Evelyn Falkowski (202) 546-3950 or (800) HATE WAR.

28 to 3/5, Montreal, Canada. The National Conference for Peace and Conflict Resolution, in conjunction with Canadian peace groups, will sponsor "The North American Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution." *Contact:* NCPCR (703) 764-6115.

March

4 to 3/7, Washington, D.C. In honor of its twentieth anniversary, the Union of Concerned Scientists will hold a conference to focus on possible future arms control policy directions for the organization. *Contact:* UCS (202) 332-0900.

10 to 3/11, Palo Alto. Physicians for Social Responsibility will hold its annual national meeting and award banquet. This year's theme is "Redefining National Security." Dr. Benjamin Spock will receive PSR's award. *Contact:* Karen Harris (202) 785-3777.

30 to 4/1, Boston. Educators for Social Responsibility will hold three full-day seminars on methodology, teaching practices and global challenges to educators. *Contact:* ESR (617) 492-8820.

Ongoing

Chicago, The Peace Museum. *Third World Ties* is the special exhibit, on display through January 1989. The multimedia exhibit, which deals with the effects of superpower expansion into the developing world, features works by sculptor Mark McGinnis and original textile art from Central America. *Contact:* LeeAnn Schray (312) 440-1860.

Nationwide. The Center for National Security will sponsor a series of participatory workshops across the country on Common Security, Democratic Security and Democratic Education and Leadership Development. *Contact:* CNS (413) 458-2159.

Nationwide. The Center For Defense Information will continue to present its weekly TV program, *America's Defense Monitor*, on various cable and PBS stations around the country. *Contact:* Sanford Gottlieb, (202) 862-0700.

Nationwide. New Voices Radio, a project of the Public Interest Video Network, broadcasts a weekly half-hour public affairs program to independent stations. Cassette recordings can be obtained. *Contact:* Patrick Esmonde-White (202) 797-8997.

Los Angeles. *Peaceworks*, a weekly television series that appears on public access cable systems, explores ways to resolve conflict without violence. *Contact:* Christopher Tous-saint (213) 666-9140.

Seattle, Washington. In February and March, the Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, in conjunction with the Pacific Arts Center and the Earthstewards Network, will sponsor an exhibition of children's photography from the Soviet Union and the United States. These photographs, in combination with those of Washington state children, will hang at the Pacific Arts Center gallery and then at several galleries in the Soviet Union. *Contact:* WPSR (206) 547-2630.

Information Hotlines: Common Cause legislative hotline (202) 833-1319; Central American legislation (202) 543-0664; nuclear arms control (202) 543-0006; nuclear tests (702) 731-9646; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343; Senate/House switchboard (202) 224-3121; South Africa (202) 546-0408; American Peace Test (702) 731-9641

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